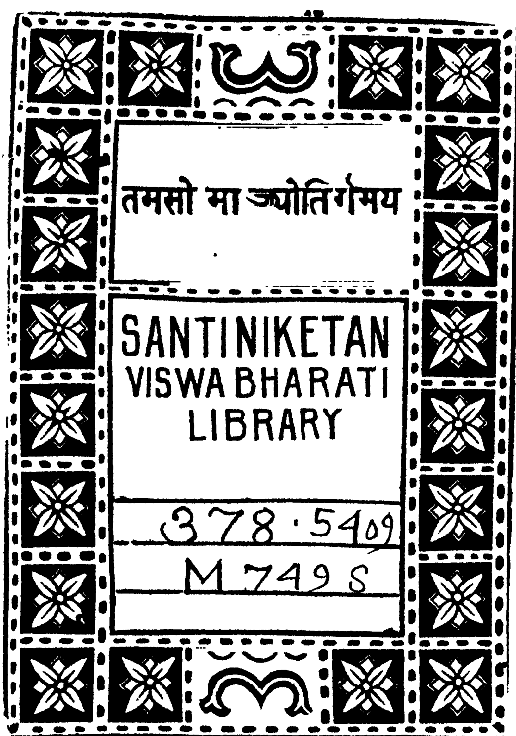




The College Building

A History of St. Stephen's College, Delhi

Compiled for the Cambridge Mission in Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the College, 1931

BY

F. F. MONK

Y.M.C.A. PUBLISHING HOUSE
5 RUSSELL STREET
CALCUTTA
1935

By the essential conditions of their life, by the circumstances of their history, by the continuity of their growth through political and religious revolutions, by the catholicity of sympathy in which they embrace every form of speculation and enquiry, by the happy discipline through which they combine reverence with freedom and enthusiasm with patience, the Universities are providentially fitted to train men who shall interpret the faith of the West to the East, and bring back to us new illustrations of the one infinite and eternal Gospel. Nowhere does the spirit of England find a more complete expression, nowhere is it more easy, more natural to believe that the Mission of England will not be un-accomplished.

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT.

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PREFATORY NOTE

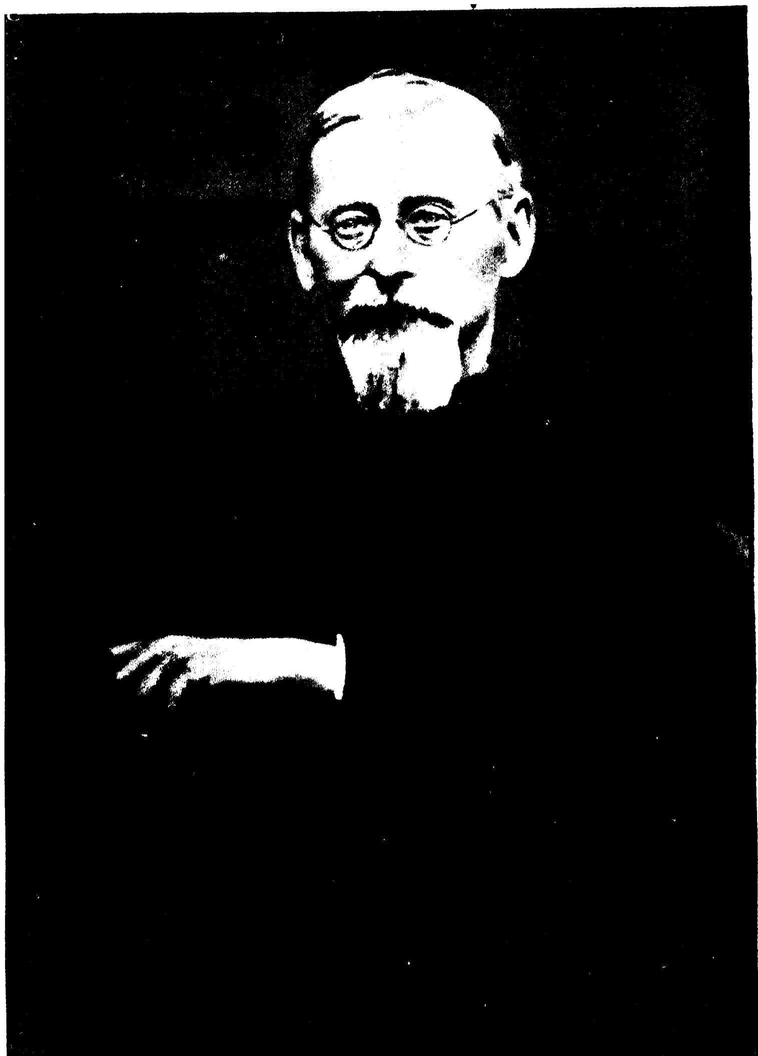
St. Stephen's College, Delhi, maintained and in large degree staffed by the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, is one of the original Constituent Colleges of the University of Delhi, a residential and teaching university established by an Act of the Indian Legislature in 1922.

For forty years previous to that date the College had been one of the affiliated institutions of the University of the Panjab, an examining university created in 1882 out of the Lahore University College of the Calcutta University. Its inception was undertaken by the Cambridge Mission a few months before the formation of the Panjab University, at the express invitation of the Government of the Panjab, to provide for the city of Delhi those facilities for higher education which had ceased with the closing of the Delhi College in 1876.

In the Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education, which made a survey of the Mission Colleges in India in 1931, frequent reference is made to St. Stephen's College, and to certain principles of Christian education which it has endeavoured to carry out. It is hoped therefore that the following record, though compiled primarily for members of the College, past and present, may prove of interest to the general student of missionary educational enterprise as in some measure a fulfilment of the prophetic words of Dr. Westcott quoted on the opposite page.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Samuel Scott Allnutt, *Founder*

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS

THE first mention of a 'St. Stephen's College' in Delhi occurs in the *Report of the Delhi Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1864.* This branch of the Society's work had been opened in 1854, at the instance of the Rev. M. J. Jennings, Chaplain of Delhi; it had been completely swept away by the storm of the Mutiny, but had been promptly refounded in 1859.[1] In the Report referred to, the following entry occurs under 'Schools':

> *St. Stephen's College.* In 1863 some candidates passed the Entrance examination of the University of Calcutta; it was therefore thought well to have our College affiliated to enable the students to read for the B.A. degree.

By 1868, however, the title had reverted to 'St. Stephen's School,' and the entry for 1873–74 indicates the reason why. Alluding to the High School as preparing boys for the Matriculation of the Calcutta University the *Report* continues:

> Here our direct connection with the lads, now become young men, ceases; they then pass on to the Government College, where our especial thanks are due to the principal for aiding our students to obtain scholarships.

Then follows a very significant comment:

> Here particularly would come in the work of another missionary from one of the universities, who would continue privately to help his old pupils in the really hard course of

[1] Fuller details will be found in the Society's publication, *The Story of the Delhi Mission.*

a letter addressed to the Cambridge Mission, which he also published in *The Mission Field* for February, 1878:

> I should like to say much, but the time perhaps is hardly yet come, about the great and urgent importance, as it seems to me, of their being a college as complete as possible in its proportions, religious, scientific, philosophic, at Delhi, and in connection with your Mission there, which should (by God's help) rally round it the more highly educated natives, and Hindoos trained at the primary and middle Government schools; training them, indeed, for M.A. degrees both at Lahore and Calcutta, but with the loftier and purer aims which Christian teaching communicates to other studies, when that teaching is seen to be not merely a by-end of an institution, but its quickening, informing and binding principle. . . . This is the very crisis at which it is required: Delhi is the very place: the Cambridge movement is in several respects, to say the least, the very instrument which seems to be needed.
>
> Curiously enough a Sirdar (native aristocrat) came upon me three weeks ago at a little *durbar* of native nobility or gentry, and said, 'I hear that many missionaries are coming out to Delhi, and at this time the Government of India have just stopped their high class college at Delhi; why do not the Delhi missionaries undertake it?' This was a very remarkable coincidence, I think. Of course he knew that Christianity would form the corner-stone and top-stone of the institute if it ever took shape and form.

The external demand on the Mission to found a college, then, was definite enough. Internally the question was naturally approached with some hesitation. In May, 1879, the committee in Cambridge had invited Winter 'to admit the Cambridge missionaries to a share in the work of St. Stephen's High School,' and in response Winter had agreed, on behalf of the S.P.G., that the Brotherhood should undertake the management not only of the High School but also of its branches. Again in October, 1879, the Cambridge Committee recorded in their minutes that,

The St. Stephen's High School was so powerful a means of reaching the higher classes as to form a most important part of the work of the Mission. It was also felt that the influence of the missionaries would be greatly increased if they held classes in some secular subjects and did not confine their teaching to direct religious instruction. Should a college be re-established at Delhi, the committee would view with favour all attempts by the missionaries to gain influence among the students at the college, as well by assisting them in their studies as by holding classes for direct religious instruction.

Commenting on all this in a letter of February, 1880, to the Cambridge Committee, Bickersteth remarks that though this educational work among non-Christians, who of course formed the vast majority among the school pupils, was not mentioned among the original objects of the Mission, he believed it to be in accordance with the present wishes of the committee, and that, as the work had been undertaken, it was likely to form the principal effort of the Mission for many years. But he adds, 'We have deferred for the present the question of the advisability of adding the higher college classes to the existing school.'

With Cambridge and Delhi thus committed not only to a concurrence of general outlook but also to an actual responsibility in the High School, it was really a foregone conclusion that this next step would sooner or later be forced on them by circumstances. In view, however, of the doubts current in some quarters even to this day regarding the legitimacy of missionary educational institutions for non-Christians, it must be emphasised that the necessity for the step was eventually admitted only after the most careful consideration both of the implications and of the risks involved. Bickersteth's report to the S.P.G. for 1879 for instance, gives some of the pros and cons:

The question of starting college classes still remains in abeyance. The Bishop has again strongly urged their

establishment in a letter which he has addressed to the S.P.G., but we have as yet heard of no qualified laymen willing to devote themselves to this special work, and without two such at least the scheme would be at present, at all events, impracticable. No doubt the fact that in a city of the size and fame of Delhi, there are no Government classes which teach up to the standard of degrees is greatly in favour of Missions undertaking the work, as pupils might be counted on from the Government as well as from the Mission schools. Mr. Kirkpatrick, the experienced master of the Government school, tells me he believes a class could be collected without difficulty. Regarded as a missionary agency, the danger of this as of all other schemes which are connected with Government examinations would seem to be that the religious element should be swamped and overwhelmed by the secular. Still there would be gained the opportunity of personal influence at the most critical period of the young Hindu's life, when he first opens his eyes to the conflict of religions around him.

Again in a letter of May, 1880, to his family, Lefroy writes:

The Bishop has been strongly urging us to open a university college here to train men up to the degree standard. It is an immensely large and difficult subject. Once again, pray for us. If we do open, we must strain every nerve to make it the best in this part of India. There is no reason ultimately why it should not be the best in India.

In July of the same year, he indicates a further complication:

Difficult questions are pressing on us for solution. The last is the relation which we are to assume towards the old Delhi College which was shut up some four years ago by Government orders, chiefly for lack of funds, and is now being opened again by a sort of joint movement of chief Indians, chief Englishmen, privately, and Government. They would be glad enough to get a hold of one or two of us as lecturers, partly perhaps because they are not very flush of money, partly because the name of the thing would help them, at least at starting. It 's hard to see what to do. On the one hand we are distinctly pledged by our position to influence in any way we can the highest education of the Indian boys, and

so if we don't throw ourselves into this movement we seem to be pledged to open another college of our own for the boys of our own school. On the other hand neither of these courses is free from serious objection. In a native college our position as missionaries must be more or less anomalous, and might become untenable if (as is too often the case out here) the European at its head were a professed sceptic. On the other hand a College of our own would be a formidable undertaking, involving some expense, much trouble and responsibility, and possibly a decided severance of those chiefly engaged in it from other work because of the extreme difficulty of mastering the Urdu language if constantly teaching in English.

By August, 1880, however, it had become clear that at least the first step must be taken, and the meeting of the Mission Council of that month resolved that, subject to the consent of the Cambridge Committee, and provision from England of the necessary funds, classes should be opened in connection with St. Stephen's School in January, 1881, to carry on instruction up to the standard required for the B.A. degree, but that they should be limited to the scholars of St. Stephen's and other Mission schools, the right being retained, however, to open the classes to students from other schools should it seem desirable to do so. The Cambridge Committee, sanctioning this resolution in October, added that they wished to 'press upon the Council the consideration of the expediency of extending the college classes to students of non-Mission schools with as little delay as possible,' and embodied their reasons in a memorandum which will be found at the end of this chapter. The Mission Council, however, considering the memorandum in December, directed Bickersteth to inform Dr. Westcott, the Chairman of the Cambridge Committee, that 'the Council does not feel in a position for the present to undertake the wider work pressed upon it, specially owing to the diminished number of missionaries and the necessity of devoting considerable time

to the study of Indian languages.' Two other important reasons for taking only the more limited step are mentioned in Bickersteth's annual report for 1881, the one a reminder that the original educational proposals of the Cambridge Mission extended only to establishing a hostel for Christian students attending the Government College; the other, that in view of the local efforts then current to revive that institution, the Brotherhood 'were anxious that if possible nothing should be done by them which might prejudice an independent and public-spirited movement.'

Such then were the events and discussions which led up to the actual birth of the new St. Stephen's College on February 1st, 1881. It had fallen to Allnutt's lot to take charge of the educational activities of the Brotherhood, and he thus describes, in a letter to his father dated February 2nd, 1881, his assumption of those responsibilities in the discharge of which he so justly earned the title later accorded to him of Founder of the College:

Yesterday saw the opening of our College, about which you have read a good deal, I think, especially in my letters to Cambridge. We have five boys, or young men perhaps I should say, and might of course have many more but that we decline to open our ranks to outsiders for the present. Next year perhaps we may see our way to do so. Lefroy and myself will do the chief part of the English, indeed all, as Mathematics, which Carlyon undertakes, hardly ranks as an English subject. The chief subjects are Logic, Psychology (Abercrombie's *Intellectual Powers*, a thoroughly good Christian treatise) and various selections from English literature. Logic and Literature fall to my share; History and Psychology to Lefroy's. . . . Every day we commence with Scripture teaching. My subject is a continuation of a former one. Briefly, it is Man's need of Revelation. . . . Since Bickersteth has returned from his wanderings he has handed over to me definitely the principalship of the School (and thereby of the College). It is indeed a responsible charge, but I think it is better that I should take it as I am fonder

of dealing with boys than he is, and have always expected that education would occupy a large part of my time.

Meanwhile, the local efforts to revive the Delhi College, with which the Brotherhood had been careful to give practical proof of their sympathy by their 'self-denying ordinance,' though unwilling to take the risks involved in actual co-operation, were not faring well. Bickersteth had reported to the Mission Council in July, 1880, that 'unofficial overtures had been made to ascertain whether an offer of professorships in the Native College would be accepted' (which, as Lefroy comments in a letter home, is 'a big word for taking a class in some English subject and getting no pay') and these had been followed up by an official enquiry from the Inspector, Mr. Cooke, regarding the intentions of the Mission. He had been informed of the proposal to open classes for Mission schoolboys only, and that no decision as to extending their operation had been taken. Next, in December, 'the Secretary having reported to the Mission Council a verbal proposition made by Mr. Parker, presumably the Headmaster of the Government High School, to the effect that the Native and the Mission College should be started simultaneously and an amalgamated scheme of lectures be arranged, the Council agreed that the proposal was inconsistent with the special missionary aim of its educational efforts.'

Lefroy's more informal account of things in a letter home dated, January 25th, 1881, reveals something more of the actual situation:

We met the Lieut.-Governor (Sir Charles Aitchison) once or twice. . . . He definitely set his foot on a scheme for the establishment of a college here from native and Government funds. It was, you know, to prevent the opening of this that the Bishop of Lahore urged us so strongly to undertake the work of college classes. We, however, took an opposite view and although we did settle to open, we limited our College to students in our own or other mission schools, thus leaving

the Native College to be fed by the Government School. On the other hand we would not close with any of the numerous offers which they made us to take professorships in their College. If they could do the thing genuinely out of their own resources, well and good, but we were determined to make our own start quite independently. Finding we were not amenable, one or two of the promoters of the scheme went off to Lahore to try to fix the matter somehow, and they did in a way we did not at all approve of by some slipshod arrangement that the Master of the Government School should be Principal of the College too. . . . But the Lieut-Governor entirely refused his consent, in full durbar at Delhi, so we take the field alone on the 1st of February. Of course if the other scheme ultimately collapses we shall have eventually to admit all comers, but this we won't do this year anyhow. When we do, the good old Bishop will have made his point in spite of us.

The Bishop did make his point, within a very few months, and the influences which eventually induced the Cambridge Mission to open its College classes to the general public are of very great importance in appreciating the status of St. Stephen's in the public system of higher education for North India. Allnutt's report to the S.P.G. in 1882 sets out the development of events sufficiently clearly and concisely:

In the course of the year it became quite evident that the scheme for resuscitating the old Delhi College, as an independent native effort, was certain to collapse, and that the higher education of the whole district would thus fall into our hands. About April, the Punjab Government made overtures to us on the subject, and we expressed our willingness to undertake the work, provided that a sufficient grant should be made and that we should be left wholly unfettered in the matter of religious education. The result of the negotiations was that our conditions were accepted, and early in the present year we received the promise of a liberal grant from Government. The College has now been thrown open to all students, whether private or from Government schools, as well as to those from Mission schools.

In effect, the Mission had consented to undertake, on behalf of Government, the responsibility which the latter recognised towards the provision of college education for Delhi and the surrounding districts.

Allnutt then proceeds to explain the academic implications:

At present we retain our connection with the Calcutta University; but in the event of the Lahore University College being raised to the status of a University (a Bill for this purpose is to be introduced this year into the Legislative Council) we shall transfer our allegiance to it. In that case, so far as is at present known, we shall be the only college in the Punjab sending students up for these examinations, besides the Government College at Lahore. This fact is mentioned to show the great importance of the work which has been undertaken by us.

Allnutt also stresses the significance of the situation from the Christian point of view:

In view of the, in many ways disastrous, results that have followed from the spread of higher education in Bengal on a purely *secular* basis, the establishment of a College for the Punjab on the basis of religious and Christian teaching will, we think, be recognised as a matter claiming the interest and prayers of the friends of Christian education in India. At present we have not heard of any Christian students wishing to enter the College, but we hope to make special arrangements for such men when they come under our immediate supervision.

The University of the Punjab[1] duly received its charter in October, 1882, and for its first few years St. Stephen's was the only college affiliated to it besides the Anglo-Vernacular and Oriental Colleges at Lahore. 'So we are fairly in for it now,' comments Lefroy in a letter home. It

[1] It should be noted that the Indian universities of those days were purely examining bodies based on the model of the London University. The defects recognised later to be inherent in the system are discussed in chapter viii.

appears, however, from another letter of his of January, 1883, that local opinion was not altogether sympathetic:

The L.-G. has been here. . . . He came to inspect our School and College. He expressed himself much pleased with what he saw, especially in the latter, and afterwards made a very nice allusion to us in a speech before the Delhi Municipality, though whether it was much relished by that august body or not may, I think, be doubted, considering how much opposition we are just now encountering in the town.

The question of a Native College was indeed being raised again by many leading people.

'I do not think,' comments Allnutt in his official report, 'it is at all likely that they will succeed in their endeavours; for though our College may not be popular, and many wish they had a purely secular college of their own, yet there is a *vis inertiæ* which operates very strongly, and probably more than counter-balances the positive force of their inclination, especially when the latter can only be realised by prolonged effort and self-denial. But meanwhile there is reason to fear that these efforts may tend to affect prejudicially the development of our College, as it will incline many to hold aloof who would otherwise have accepted things as they are, while students may be induced to go to Lahore rather than to the Mission College, thus making it appear that we have no chance of attracting students, and justifying the appeal for a Native College.'

These fears, however, were not realised, and till 1899, when the Hindu College appeared on the scene, St. Stephen's shouldered alone the responsibility of providing, on behalf of both the Delhi public and the Government, the only facilities for college education between Agra and Lahore.

NOTE A

The Delhi College

In 1792 certain leading Mohammadans of Delhi established an Arabic School in the *sarai* attached to the tomb of Ghazi-

ad-din outside the Ajmir Gate. In 1824, Government associated themselves with the School and made it an enlarged 'Institution' with an English department, calling the whole 'The Delhi Institution,' of which the original Arabic College came to be classed as the Oriental department. In 1829, Nawab Fazl Ali Khan, Ihtima-ad-daula, Prime Minister of Oudh (who was a native of Delhi), put into the hands of Government Rs. 1,70,000 for the promotion of education at Delhi. This endowment yielded about Rs. 700 per mensem, and no doubt accelerated the creation of a more ambitious establishment than 'The Delhi Institution'; for in 1846 the institution was transferred from its accommodation in the *sarai* and under the name of 'The Delhi College' was accommodated in the mansion (now used for the Government High School) built by Nawab Abdul Ahmad Khan (one of the ministers of Shah Jahan) which had at times after 1803 been used as the Residency, but which was no longer so used in 1846.

The Delhi College had a career in this building up to 1857, supported by Government and the proceeds of the 'Nawab Fund,' the latter being devoted chiefly to the Oriental Branch (which itself had absorbed the original Arabic School of 1792). There were two branches, the Modern and the Oriental. After 1857–58, the College was re-founded, and the Nawab Fund came to be administered and expended by the educational department without distinction from the ordinary departmental grants. Meanwhile the *sarai* had become police barracks.

The extinction of any trace of the Arabic School of 1829 was not pleasing to the leading Mohammadans of Delhi, who in 1870, revived the idea of a separate Arabic branch, and successfully moved Government to allot the proceeds of the Nawab Fund for its maintenance. In 1886, the Delhi College having meanwhile collapsed and having been replaced by St. Stephen's College, the police were removed from the *sarai* and the Oriental Branch of the Delhi College, saved from the wreck, re-entered, under the name of the Anglo-Arabic School, its original house, first entered 94 years before.

In 1924 the School, having opened Intermediate classes, was recognised as a constituent College of the University of

Delhi, the recognition being extended to the degree classes in 1929.

To the Anglo-Arabic College therefore must be conceded the claim of being, on a somewhat disconnected record, the oldest collegiate foundation in the present Imperial capital, while it shares with St. Stephen's College that of being a direct successor to the Delhi College.

NOTE B

MEMORANDUM OF THE CAMBRIDGE COMMITTEE OF THE DELHI MISSION IN REGARD TO THE PROPOSAL THAT THE MISSION SHOULD UNDERTAKE THE WORK OF PREPARING FOR THE HIGHER UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

As Amended by the Committee on October 27th, 1880.

The question whether the Cambridge Mission at Delhi should carry on a system of classes to prepare for the higher university examinations, to which not only students from mission schools but also others should be admitted, having been referred to the committee at Cambridge, they are of opinion that unless the circumstances have greatly altered since the date of Mr. Bickersteth's letter (August 11), the work should be undertaken. The following considerations weighed with the committee in coming to this decision:

1. Such work is, in their opinion, entirely in accordance with the original design of the Mission. For although special prominence was given in its first papers to the higher education of native Christians and candidates for the ministry, educational efforts of a wider character were also hinted at; while 'literary and other labours' were spoken of through which it might be possible 'to reach the more thoughtful heathen.' Moreover, one reason for the selection of Delhi as the scene of the Mission was that 'the students of the Government College have been found specially accessible to Christian influence.' And apart from any express language in the description of the objects of the Mission, the proposed work is certainly not foreign to its general idea, as a Mission proceeding from an English university, from which no kind of labours calculated to introduce Christian influences into the education of natives would naturally be excluded.

2. When such an unhesitating and reiterated call to this special work is given by the Bishop of Lahore, whose words carry so much weight, owing both to his position in the Church and his long experience, to decline without clearly sufficient reasons would be to incur a heavy responsibility.

3. Independently of the Bishop's appeal, the present crisis of educational matters in Delhi seems to offer peculiarly great opportunities which may never occur again. So far as it is possible to judge from a distance, the plan of taking students from mission schools, but not others, would be wanting in consideration to those interested in the Native College. It would be very difficult for them to carry on an independent College, if a considerable number of possible students were thus otherwise provided for. It would obviously show greater fairness for the Mission to begin with the larger scheme than to make the extension of the Mission classes contingent upon the failure of the Native College. Moreover if a native college were not established, parts of the work of higher education would remain unsupplied till the classes in connection with the Mission were thrown open to all.

Unless the whole number of students brought in by the wider scheme were very large, much larger than there is reason to anticipate, the additional expenditure of labour and money would probably be comparatively small.

4. The committee attach weight to the account they have received of the favourable attitude of the Government Inspector.

5. While it would be an intelligible, if a narrow, policy to confine the efforts of the Cambridge Mission to the higher education of native Christians, there seems no sufficient reason for making a distinction in favour of heathens educated in mission schools, as compared with other heathens. Experience, there is reason to think, shows that the latter are often the more accessible, as young men, to Christian influence.

The foregoing memorandum is sent on the assumption that the scheme for a native college has not come into operation. If it has, further consideration will be necessary.

CHAPTER II

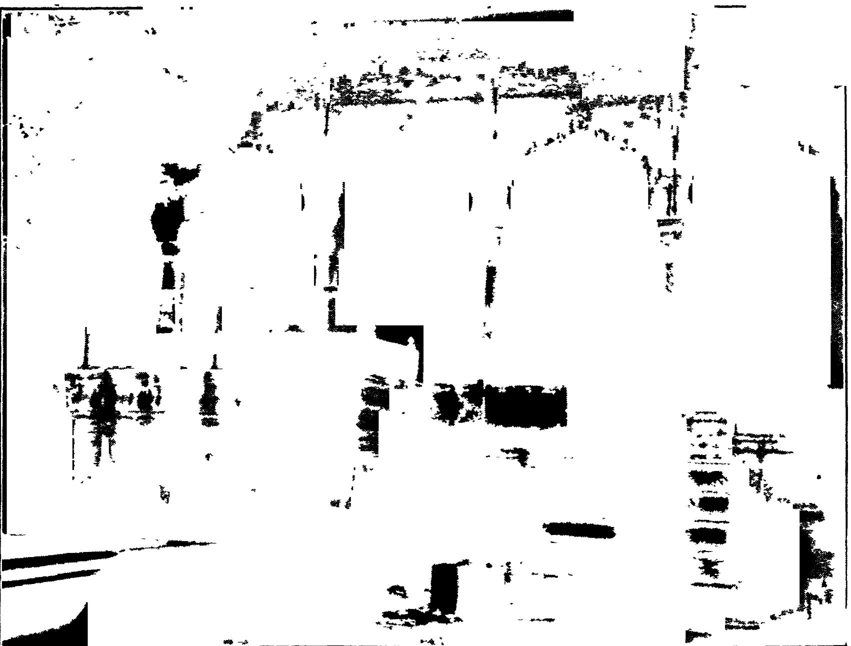
MAKING GOOD

FOR the first year or two of its existence the College was faced with the critical question of sufficient entries. It had started in 1881 with five students,[1] restricted to those who had passed their (Calcutta) matriculation from the Mission High School. Four of these survived to form the second year class in 1882, augmented by two more admitted in accordance with the new arrangement with Government, while another four were enrolled to form the first year class of that year. Of the six candidates thus sent up for the Calcutta Intermediate in 1882, three passed. The three failures apparently provided, with three out of the four in the junior year, the candidates in 1883, for the annual report records that 'two students passed the Punjab and two the Calcutta F.A. examination in 1883. In each case three went up, and in the former one stood high (sixth) in the list. Our connection with the Calcutta University has now wholly ceased and for better and for worse we are connected now entirely with the Punjab University.'

The 'worse' emerges only too clearly as the work proceeds, but the immediate anxiety before the Mission College is expressed in a letter of Lefroy's, dated May, 1883:

We are very anxious about our College boys who are in for the F.A. . . . these boys are failures from the last Calcutta examination in January, and we have just had to put in the

[1] Sansar Chand, Har Gopal, Sajjad Mirza, Kipa Narian, Ram Lal; of whom the three first-named passed the F.A. in December, 1882.



Phot by K. C. Gupta

THE FIRST HIRED COLLEGE BUILDING INTERIOR

time in utterly unsatisfactory cram for this Punjab one, and they are not bright material. . . . If they see we can pass boys, caste and religion and race prejudices and all the other bundle of prejudices will have to give way and they will come in, especially as the Government is very steadily supporting us, Sir C. Aitchison, our new Lieutenant-Governor, taking a very personal interest in it.

It had, in fact, as the Mission report for 1883 explains, 'become an anxious question whether the inducements we could offer Government students were sufficiently strong to lead them to elect for our College in preference to the Lahore Government College,' and with this question was linked, as already noted, the propaganda for the revival of a local college in competition with St. Stephen's. 'It was therefore a great relief,' the report records, 'to find that after a most successful entrance examination in May, 1883, by far the larger number of the successful students (i.e. from the Delhi schools) had made up their mind to join the Mission College.' The new first year class rose to over 20, and though the other classes were 'still very thin' they included the first B.A. class of three students, two of whom were considered 'very encouraging.' But Allnutt writes:

It is too soon yet to speak in any but quite general terms of our work with the first year class above referred to. I can only venture at present to say that most of them evince a much more confiding and truthful demeanour than when they joined the College, and seem to identify themselves much more with its interests, sharing in our club, with its debates, lectures, etc., and to a certain extent also in athletics and cricket.

This formal report to the S.P.G. was supplemented by a letter dated December, 1883, from Allnutt to Dr. Westcott which gives such a vivid and comprehensive picture of the life of the College in those early days that it must be quoted in full:

When I wrote last year's report on the College and School I expressed some misgiving as to the prospect of our numbers in the College being increased this year. That misgiving has, I am thankful to say, proved groundless. An exceptionally large number of boys from the Government schools in this District passed the Punjab University Entrance Examination, and when we opened our first year class in July, we found that a large number of these had made up their minds to enter our College. Since then the number has risen to 25. This includes almost all the students of the District who stood highest on the list, so that we have every reason to be so far encouraged. We had three successful students (out of four who went up) from our own School. As none of them stood high enough on the list to obtain a Government scholarship, and we knew them to be earnest students, we resolved to give them private help to enable them to continue their studies. We have only had these students for about three months in our College (we had our vacation in September and October), and so it is too soon to venture to give any account of our contact with them. They are in fact only just beginning to lay aside their reserve and identify themselves with the College and its interests. Hitherto it has always been 'your College,' and I was beginning to wonder how long they would maintain this sort of cold neutrality. The change from 'your' to 'our' would, I felt, mark a very real advance in their relation to us. The change has, I am glad to say, just now come about, and it was, it is worth while to add, a cricket match which proved the solvent required to produce the reaction in our favour. Our club was going to play an outside eleven and I had not intended to give the College a 'let out,' as I thought only a small majority would care to witness it, and none of the team is, I regret to say, furnished by the College. I was, however, petitioned to give the 'let out,' and when I objected that I did not think any of them took sufficient interest in the match to go and see it, I was told quite warmly that of course 'we want to go and see *our* boys play.' I need not say I gave the holiday with the greatest readiness, and felt happier than I had felt for a long time.

The incident serves to illustrate a characteristic of our work which may be worth dwelling upon for a moment.

You will notice that I speak of a 'let out' and that the students call themselves 'boys.' (N.B. they were indeed referring to the eleven only at the moment, to which, as I have said, no College student belongs, but they nevertheless mostly speak of each other as 'boys'.) Both these expressions serve to show what a vast difference there is between University life here and at home, if indeed it be not an abuse of language to apply the word to our system at all. The simple fact is that there is no such break between the life of a schoolboy and that of an undergraduate as there is at home. There is literally no change in the mode of life. The boarders have perhaps slightly more liberty allowed them, but I doubt if they are conscious of the extension as affecting them in any definite way. There is just the necessary change of curriculum, and even that does not affect the method of work, at least in the earlier stage of their college course. The knowledge of English is so very slight (in the Punjab at least) when they enter on it that lecturing in the University sense of the term is out of the question. They have to be taught in class catechetically, just as schoolboys are taught, and would be hopelessly at sea if they had to listen to a regular lecture. The students quite recognise this fact, as I have said, and do not attempt to give themselves the airs of 'men.' I am inclined to think that if one of them were told to stand up on a form as a punishment, he would do so without any hesitation. They are, however, most exemplary in their behaviour, and it is very rarely that one has to reprove anyone for inattention even, and this is the only misdemeanour of which they are ever guilty.

. . . Our small classes have an undoubted advantage, and though we must be prepared to sacrifice it to a great extent when they grow larger (as they probably will), yet for the present we are glad to make use of the fewness of the number in each class as a means of getting closer at the mind and character of each student. A distinguished Calcutta lecturer (belonging to a Missionary College) was asked, when under examination before the Education Commission, what he thought was the *minimum* of students required for a successful lecturer. He answered that he thought success might be attained with a minimum of *two hundred*, but that he did not think he could manage to

lecture before an audience below that number! Making due allowance for the obvious exaggeration of such a statement, I cannot help feeling that lecturing on such a scale as that must fail to a great extent to accomplish the end which the missionary professor has in view.

. . . It may be worth while to tell you what are some of the subjects we are now engaged in teaching. . . . The English subjects set for the First Year Intermediate are:

Kingley's *Westward Ho!*
Blackie's *Self-Culture*
Smiles' *Life of Stephenson*
Wordsworth's *Excursion*, Book I ('The Wanderer')

The first and last of these are the subjects now being taught by Lefroy and myself. They are both hard subjects to teach. . . . It is, so far as our experience has gone, quite a mistake to think that the class of students who frequent colleges have any special aptitude for metaphysical modes of thought. Natural aptitude I have no doubt they have but the sort of education they receive does not in the least foster its development. This is especially the case in regard to the Government school system, which tends to direct all the energies of the mind into certain fixed and prescribed channels, and as no one of these is moral or religious in its character, it follows that the general outcome of the system is to suppress, rather than to promote the growth of that predilection from studies involving the exercise of the speculative and imaginative faculties, which Indian students are usually credited with. . . . It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it must be largely reformed or at least supplemented if it is to fulfil the end of true education. . . . May I, in connection with this point, add that this is one main reason why I have felt it so important to make either Sanskrit or Arabic an integral part of every student's school course. I shall be much disappointed if the effect of this be not in time to develop at least an interest in, and I hope too, a power to enter into, and see the significance of

those obstinate questionings
Of sense and outward things,
Fallings from us, vanishings,
Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in worlds not realised,

such as stirred the minds and spirits of their forefathers. If so, if ever it is my fate to have to lecture again on Wordsworth's *Excursion*, I shall hope to find some listeners more capable of undertaking his metaphysics than is at present the case.

The remaining subjects of the Intermediate course . . . are Mathematics (Euclid, Algebra, Trigonometry, Mechanics and Conic sections) now taught entirely and very efficiently by Mr. Dutt; History (Taylor's *Manual of Ancient History*); Deductive Logic and Political Economy; Abercrombie's *Intellectual Powers*; and Natural Science (Elementary Physics and Chemistry). Five is the limit to the number of subjects which any student can take up, English, Mathematics, and an Oriental language being compulsory. The scheme allows another Oriental language to be taken up as one of the five subjects, but we do not allow this in our College, as we think that in a limited range of studies such as this, and considering the mechanical way in which all the Oriental languages are taught, it is not advisable to allow the study of language to assume too prominent a part in the curriculum.

Turning now to the B.A. course, I enumerate the English subjects chosen for 1885:

Kingley's *Hypatia*
Macaulay's *Essays on Chatham and Pitt*
Helps' *Companions of my Solitude*
Shakespeare's *Hamlet*
Milton's *L'Allegro and Il Penseroso*

I can imagine no book of the kind more admirably suited for lecturing upon to intelligent and appreciative students than *Hypatia*. We have two such in our B.A. class, and it is a real pleasure to teach them. . . . The remaining subjects of the course are Mathematics, Natural Science and Persian or Sanskrit. All these are entirely taught by native professors. In future, with our replenished teaching force, I hope that History, Moral Philosophy and Logic may form parts of the course, which only at present brings us very partially into contact with the students.

The uncertainty regarding adequate numbers was now at an end. (The inevitable fluctuations may be traced in the

appendix.) Indeed the entries increased so rapidly that by January, 1885, Allnutt, in reviewing to Dr. Westcott the year 1884, was anticipating that 'the question of accommodation will be a very pressing one, as we cannot possibly make our present buildings hold any more. As there is now little or no prospect of our being able to secure the Government hospital, which at one time we thought we might be able to purchase, we intend to hire another large native house just opposite our present buildings.'

He then gives some details of financial administration, rates of fees, etc., which are interesting to compare with the present day:

To meet the extra expense the rent of this house will involve, we have applied to the Municipal Committee for an increased grant, which we have every prospect of obtaining. Our grant from Government and municipal sources will *then* amount to Rs. 600 a month. Besides this we have an S.P.G. grant of Rs. 120 which, with fees amounting now to about Rs. 90 makes our monthly income *at present* about Rs. 710. . . . Our monthly expenditure . . . taking last month's paybill . . . was as follows:

	Rs.
Salary of Mathematics Professor (with House Rent) ...	230
,, Science ,, ,, ...	150
,, Three Oriental Language Professors ...	95
,, Servants of the College	49
Rent	50
Scholarships	68
Contingencies (including Laboratory Expenses) ...	50

This makes a total of Rs. 692 per month, or Rs. 8,304 per year. The average cost of educating a student is therefore about Rs. 17 per month or Rs. 204 per year. The ratio which this expenditure bears to that of a Government College may be seen by comparing it with the average annual cost of educating a student at Lahore, where there were on March 31st, 1884, 129 students. The annual cost of educating each scholar there was for the year ending on that date Rs. 341-8-0. As we could educate three times our present number with very little additional expense, it will be seen

that our establishment is from the Government point of view a most economical one. We are allowed to estimate our own services at Rs. 700 a month, to enable us to satisfy the rules for obtaining a Government grant, one of which is that the expenditure must equal double the grant-in-aid. This we can now do by adding only about Rs. 120 to our monthly bill.

The subject of fees has been much mooted by the Government during the past year. Sir C. Aitchison rightly holds that the time has come for making students in high schools and colleges pay a much greater proportion of the sum expended on their education. Hitherto they have only paid a fee of one or two rupees a month in colleges, which was of course practically nominal. . . . The scale has been raised in Government colleges to Rs. 3 as the lowest, and Rs. 5 as the highest. Whether this will have any effect in reducing the numbers remains to be seen. There has been great controversy as to the principle on which the fees should be levied. The usual custom has been to levy a fee graduated according to the income of the parent. This is held by almost all educational authorities to be for India, or at any rate for backward provinces like the Punjab, the only sound principle to proceed on. It is, however, for reasons which have not transpired, disapproved of by Government and a uniform fee for each grade of students has been fixed for all Government colleges. . . . Though I very strongly disapprove of the uniform standard, it is probable we shall in the end have to conform to it. The main principle for which we contend is that as long as no student is asked to pay more than a mere fraction of the actual cost of his education, it is right to make each contribute as much as he can afford towards this cost. Both our College and School contain the most heterogeneous mixture of students. . . . When such are the inequalities of rank and means, and no other kind of education is provided by Government or any other body, such as is to be found at home, suited to every class of the people, it seems to follow *pari passu* that an anomalous system of levying fees must be adopted. The difficulty of course is to find out what a boy's parent is worth, but experience shows that it is practically an imaginary one. At present two annas is the lowest fee taken in the school, and

three rupees the highest, while in the college it ranges from two rupees to ten. The scale is graduated according to income and school-class.[1]

In 1887, Allnutt was in England for a well-earned holiday after nearly eight years of work in Delhi, and in commenting on a deficit reported by Wright, the Acting Principal, he attributes it to small entries and expects improvement from increased entries and amount of fees. 'The average fees paid now by students amount for the first two years of the course to Rs. 5 and for the last two to Rs. 6-8. . . . Up to about 1884, the average fee was only Re. 1, and Rs. 2 respectively.' Winter notes in his report a satisfactory increase in the number of Muhammadan students that year, and the small entries in general were due to a large number of failures in the matriculation throughout the schools, a similar situation occurring again in 1888.

Another influence that in some degree affected annual entries was University examination results. The annual figures will be found in the appendix, but one or two

[1] The following data are given in *Educational Work in 1885*, an Occasional Paper by Allnutt.

Expenses of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. (Averages per month omitted.)

	1881			*1882*			*1883*			*1884*			*1885*		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Teachers' Salaries	217	13	9	1,433	15	0	3,973	5	7	5,194	0	0	5,266	0	0
Servants ..				271	10	6	465	7	5	558	3	3	597	13	3
Rent				577	0	0	924	0	0	924	0	0	1,399	0	0
Contingencies ..	36	15	3	809	6	9	1,291	10	10	589	2	3	837	9	6
Scholarships .	297	0	0	558	0	0	853	0	0	656	0	0	283	0	0
Total ..	551	13	0	3,650	0	3	7,507	7	10	7,921	5	6	8,383	6	9

Eleven months only of 1881.

Expenditure on Books for College Library since commencement ... ... Rs. 3,125

Expenditure on Science Apparatus since commencement about £325

1884-5.—Decrease in Mission scholarships due to the factth at since 1883, Government and University scholarships have been available for our students, and the Mission now confines itself to giving small allowances to good but needy students, during their second and fourth years.



QAMR-AD-DIN, *Bhīsthi*

personal details are of interest. In 1885, for instance, out of sixteen candidates for the F.A., only six passed, but two of them headed the list, 'one of these, named Bans Gopal, being the solitary occupant of the first division.' That same year the College for the first time entered candidates for the B.A., but passed only one out of the three.[1] In 1886 again only one passed the B.A. out of five sent up, and he at the bottom of the list. 'As, however, he had to leave for England before the last subject had been taken, this is perhaps not so bad as it seems. He is the first student from our College or School who has gone to study in England. His name is Rang Lal.' (He died early, but his name is commemorated in the Intermediate English Prize endowed by his brother, B. Pyare Lal.) But the most gratifying success that year was the selection of two students, after examination, for the post of Extra Assistant Commissioner. There were only two vacancies and the number of competitors very large, including many B.A's and M.A's of Lahore. 'The man who headed the list,' (an old student still living, with an honourable record of public service—R. S. Sheo Narain), 'had strangely enough failed twice in the F.A. examination of the University, each time by one mark in one subject, though his total marks each time would have made him head of the list. Such is the lottery of examinations out here. He is a man well deserving of the honour he has achieved, one whom we all agree in considering the best student we have ever had.'

Allnutt had already commented on the previous year's collapse, shared with the Lahore Government College, that 'standards were very unsettled in the Punjab University, and success a very slight criterion of merit in many, if not most cases.' The University, indeed, was by no means the least of the handicaps with which the missionary educationist had to

[1] Makkhan Lal, who had joined in the third year class.

contend. The annual report for 1882, when mentioning that St. Stephen's had been definitely affiliated to the Punjab University since it received its charter that October, had added, 'There is every prospect now that the hitherto somewhat chaotic regulations of the former (University) College will be remodelled into a fairly workable shape, and it will be an unmixed gain to education in this province that the dual system of work (for both Lahore and Calcutta) will now be wholly superseded.' Further details are given by Allnutt in a letter to Dr. Westcott:

There was at first some reason to fear that on the creation of the University all the existing curriculum, with its tentative and in many cases inconsistent regulations, would be adopted without modification as part of the constitution of the University. Had this been the case, we should have purchased our separation from the Calcutta University at a heavy cost. The curriculum of the latter has just been revised and that, in our opinion, very much for the better, especially as regards the B.A. course. This improvement has been effected by grafting on to the ordinary B.A. course an Honours course, the subjects for the latter being the same as those set for the former, only requiring further study and research. This scheme has this recommendation, that it allows able students to gain a thorough knowledge of some one branch of their B.A. course (the Honours degree being accorded to anyone passing the higher examination in any branch or branches of the three prescribed) without being exposed to the temptation of scamping their other work, as they must first pass in *each* subject of the course. The system hitherto in vogue at Lahore has allowed students to take in so many subjects for examination, and those mainly of their own selection, that shallowness and desultoriness have been the inevitable result; while the danger has been increased by diminishing the standard of marks to be attained in proportion to the number of subjects taken up. This is only one instance out of a number of cases in which the inducements held out to students to avail themselves of the higher education have tended, as is shown by actual experience, to deteriorate the

character of the results attained. We here felt this so strongly that with the concurrence of Mr. Sime, the Principal of the Government College, Lahore, I drew up last year a memorandum on the subject of the Arts course, in which I endeavoured to lay down what seem to us the broad general principles to be aimed at in our work.

For some time our effort seemed likely to prove abortive, but the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor having been drawn to our proposals, he at once convened a meeting of the Senate to consider them, and though we are not sanguine enough to hope that they will approve themselves altogether, yet there is reason to believe that such modifications will be introduced into the curriculum as to render it at least *workable*; and this from a teacher's point of view will be a great point gained.

The next annual report, however, had still to record that the Punjab University was 'in a very imperfect and semi-developed state and almost courts failure by the amount of varied operations and functions which it aims to discharge, though at present the necessary experience and means for their adequate performance are to a great extent lacking. At the same time our personal relations to the authorities are very friendly, and it may be hoped that in time the arrangements will become more practical and worthy of the reputation which the University enjoys.' (Both Bickersteth and Allnutt were appointed Fellows of the University in 1883, Wright being appointed in the former's place in 1886.)

Even by 1888 Allnutt writes 'University affairs have not, I regret to say, advanced much in the past year.' Indeed examination scandals had led to the dismissal of the Registrar and his whole office staff, 'but, in other respects reform lags very much. . . . There is unfortunately little or no public opinion which can be brought to bear on the University, and those who try to improve matters are often fain to abandon the attempt in despair.' Matters were, however, brought to a head in 1889 by almost universal disaster in the

University examinations. Of the thirteen F.A. candidates and six B.A. candidates from St. Stephen's,

> only one out of the whole number succeeded in passing, a Christian student named Abinash Chandra Ghose, who has the proud distinction of constituting in his own person the whole B.A. class for next year. What made the failure so keenly felt was the fact that in the main the six B.A. students sent up were the best who have ever gone up from our College. It would serve no purpose to expatiate on the causes of the failure. We shared it in common with the rest of the province, though it was more complete in our case than elsewhere. . . . Almost all the teaching faculty of the University have long been convinced that the standards are too high, and in some cases almost prohibitive. . . . The difficulty is enhanced by the fact that failure by a single mark in any subject involves failure in the whole examination, no discretion whatever being allowed to the Board of Studies to make any exception. The subject was brought up at the Educational Conference at Lahore, and without, I think, a single dissentient voice it was agreed to recommend some reduction. . . . Whatever changes may be made, they will not be made in time to affect our present students, but, as we have again an unusually strong year, we are hopeful as to the result.

The hope was justified, for in 1890 Allnutt was able to report:

> We managed to retrieve our lost fortune last year. It was a successful year all round, though there were no brilliant successes. It is, however, still more satisfactory to be able to record that the reforms in our University examinations . . . have become an accomplished fact. . . . The number of subjects has been curtailed in each examination from the middle upwards. While retaining the same standard of pass-marks in the aggregate, we have reduced the pass-marks in all subjects, except English and Oriental languages. For instance, for the B.A. degree, there will be in future only three subjects, English, Oriental and one other on the Arts side, while science students can take up Mathematics or Physical Science, in place of the Oriental. This is a great in-

novation, and considering that at one time our *raison d'être* as a university was supposed to be the maintenance and development of Oriental learning, I was surprised to find how easily, indeed almost without opposition, this revolutionary change was accepted. It is in itself a matter for regret that the original programme should have been so soon departed from in such an integral part of the scheme. I must, however, admit that, though on theoretical grounds, I should have strongly opposed the change, yet the educational value of the Oriental languages, as at present taught, is almost to be reckoned as a minus quantity. If we can subsequently add a distinctively philosophic course, with some reliable handbook on Hindu philosophy as an alternative branch for Sanskrit students, we shall have attained a goal where we may be content, for the present at least, in our outward career of University reform. It is satisfactory to be able to report that not only have there been no further examination scandals but that the examinations as now conducted give satisfaction to all reasonable persons.

CHAPTER III

EARLY CONDITIONS

THE preceding chapter has traced the growth of the College up to the point when it broke away from the stem on to which it had been grafted, the old High School, and established itself in the buildings so familiar to and beloved of later generations. Before following it into its new home, however, it will be interesting to note the conditions, both personal and material, that obtained in those earliest days. So far as is known, only one member of the 'staff' of those days survives, humble but honoured, Qamr-ad-Din, *bhishti*, whose fifty years of loyal service are commemorated by his portrait hung among those of the principals under whom he worked. His recollections are hardly adequate for the purposes of chronicle, but one or two observations elicited from him are perhaps worth recording, e.g. that for the first year or two the students sat on the floor or *mondhas* (wicker stools) for lack of furniture; that the working hours were the same as nowadays both in winter and summer, but the long vacation only of two months: and that popular suspicion was extended alike to Englishmen and to English dress, though the common ambition, as ever, was to enter Government service. He is also of the opinion that the students used to read more when the college was in the city than in these days! He identifies the building occupied as Sahab Singh's house, known as Shish Mahal, in Katra Khushhal Rai, near Kinari Bazar, to which was added later the adjacent house of

Pandu, cloth merchant. It was no doubt in the former that he took his share in the activity thus recorded by Lefroy in July, 1882:

I have been busy this week laying out the court of our new College as a garden. It does not offer quite such a fair field for enterprise as, e.g. the old Trinity Quad, being about 50 ft. by 30 ft., but what, with shrubs in the centre and creepers on the walls and flowers in spare corners, it will, I think, not be amiss and will anyhow give our friends of these climes a new idea of college life.

Such a close relation existed then between the College and the School that Allnutt's description of the latter in 1881 will stand for both:

A few words about the school fabric may not be out of place. St. Stephen's School is situated in the Chandni Chowk, which is the principal street of the city. The building has some historical interest. It belonged formerly to a vizier of the last Moghul Emperor, named Ashraf Beg. His daughter, Aliza Begam, was one of those remarkable Indian women who, despite their untoward position, have exercised such a singular power and influence. She was one of the Emperor's favourite wives. The approach to the School is not inviting, being up a back lane, very narrow and dirty. But as soon as you enter the building itself it presents a bright animated appearance. An open courtyard measuring about 40 feet square, forms the centre. In the middle of this is a fountain, which plays only on state occasions. The court is paved with stone, spaces being left here and there for flower beds. As is usual in Indian houses the side facing the court is quite open, graceful scolloped arches with their columns taking the place of walls, doors and windows.

The two points which strike one most, I think, on first going into an Indian school, are the simplicity and picturesqueness of its *tout ensemble*. There is a certain gracefulness about the boys, which though it easily lapses into supineness, and is so far as great a contrast as possible to the sturdy robustness of an English schoolboy, yet falls in well with

these surroundings. The costume also adds another sort of picturesqueness, many-coloured in winter and in summer deliciously white and cool. The apparatus required for teaching seems wonderfully small, and things go on from day to day with apparently very little expenditure of energy or force on the part of the masters. It is worth mentioning that in no part of our School are marks given. Home lessons are learnt, and interest sometimes very keen is manifested by the boys in their work. Corporal punishment is but rarely resorted to, though I believe under-masters have peculiar Indian ways of making their pupils sensible of their displeasure. I may add that the disparity of age is very striking. Grown-up men, as one might say, fathers of children, may be seen in the lower primary classes, sitting humbly with little boys young enough almost to be their sons.

The two chief agencies on which Allnutt and his colleagues seem to have relied for all-round development of personality outside the class-room were the school club, to which frequent reference is made in the early reports, and cricket. The former, under the name of the Star of Delhi Club, had been started in 1880 and continued to be one of its most vital features till the School was relinquished in 1929. The addition of the College classes naturally extended its scope, so that in 1883 Allnutt writes:

It now numbers some 75 members (by 1888 these had grown to 170), and the attendance at meetings is very encouraging. The mathematical master of the College, Mr. N. Dutt, has rendered great assistance by the clear and interesting lectures on Natural Science he has given in the vernacular. All kinds of questions have been discussed at the meetings, and there is a marked advance both in the general interest taken in the subjects discussed, and in the greater freedom from prejudice on the part of the speakers. A room has been set apart in the College as a reading-room for members, in which English and Vernacular papers and magazines are placed, and some games which are very popular.

Allied to these activities was

the amalgamation from time to time of our students with those of the Government School for purposes of debates and lectures. These have so far been very successful and such burning questions as Widow Re-marriage, the Evils of Caste, etc., are brought forward and discussed in a free and often thorough-going way which is a matter for surprise and encouragement in a backward city such as Delhi is always considered to be. These meetings also serve to bring us into contact beforehand with our future pupils in the College and help, I think, to induce a feeling of mutual trust and confidence.

The local officials gave much sympathy and help, one of them, Mr. R. Maconachie, I.C.S., delivering some greatly appreciated lectures on English Literature; the Commissioner, Colonel Gordon Young, presiding at the annual prize-giving; and his successor, Mr. Macnabb, presenting a magic-lantern and several sets of slides. Mention is also made of the interest shown by the Chaplain of Delhi, Mr. Griffith, still known to many in England, as one of the oldest supporters of the Mission. And a request taken back by Professor Monier Williams, who honoured the College with a visit in 1883, resulted in the generous gift of an astronomical telescope by the Duke of Devonshire, then Chancellor of Cambridge University.

Cricket has already been referred to as the direct cause of the students identifying themselves personally with the institution. Lefroy was at first responsible for the game, and he and the Rev. A. Martin (an S.P.G. missionary who came out in 1882), were 'untiring in their endeavours to develop the *corpus sanum* which is so much lacking in the ordinary Indian youth. Under their superintendence the School and College Athletic Sports in January, 1883, proved a great success.' It was Wright's arrival, however, which gave the final impulse to cricket, as the report for 1885 indicates:

We have made great progress in cricket this season. This

is due to the exertions of Mr. Wright, who has brought our eleven to a state of discipline and efficiency never before attained. We were successful in most of the matches played during the 'cricket week,' scoring victories at Rewari, Alwar and Agra, with but one single defeat at Aligarh. It is worth while mentioning that three of the best players in the team were Christians.

By 1888 further progress could be reported:

Our cricket season was fairly successful. In the 'week' last Christmas we won four, I think, out of five matches played. Aligarh (M.A.O. College) beat us in both matches we played with them, but Mr. Wright considers our boys showed great advance in style and discipline. Luther,[1] our head Christian student, was captain. He also stood first in the College examination of his year (third), and carried off the first prize.

An interesting survey of the material available is given by Wright himself in an *Occasional Paper* of 1890:

Cricket begins again at the end of this month (October, 1890) with the beginning of a new term. We shall miss, as in other departments so specially in this, our old Captain, Luther, both in the actual game itself where he always did his full share, and in the general organisation and arrangements. The time is rapidly approaching, I hope, when this department of work will be able to dispense with its leading-strings, which largely means me, and rule and develop itself. Most of last year's eleven remain, and I am proud to say (though for many reasons I wish it were not so) that the College claims no less than seven of these. It remains to be seen what the School can do as a result of Maitland's pains-taking and heroic efforts. It is no small satisfaction to feel that in such a place as Delhi you can produce a really respectable eleven out of a college of 60 students. Long may it continue so. Our difficulty, as in past years, will be to find 'foemen worthy of our steel': there is no native eleven in Delhi, or nearer (so far as I know) than Aligarh, two and a half hours by rail, which could face us, and, judging from the

[1] The Rev. Pritam Luther Singh of Hazaribagh.

results of a cricket meeting which I attended last night, it might be rash of any English eleven which Delhi can muster to try comparisons. I may add that of the remnants of last year's eleven we can claim one in our hostel, and another in the boarding-house, which will probably contribute another this year.

But perhaps the most interesting aspiration of those days is that mentioned by Allnutt in another *Occasional Paper*, entitled 'Educational Work' in 1885:

Another novelty introduced during the year is drilling. This arose from a hint thrown out by Mr. Blackie in his *Self-culture*, one of the books read in the Intermediate course. The Police Superintendent took up the idea very warmly, and the beginning was made by a small company which will probably grow to a large body before I next write. The prospect of being allowed to have rifles and to fire blank-cartridge proves very attractive. As the formation of Native Volunteer companies is one of the burning questions of the hour in the eyes of native reformers, it is possible we may be showing in a quiet way how the movement may be inaugurated without alarming the authorities. At any rate ours is the first school or college where the experiment has been introduced.

Unfortunately nothing is recorded of any subsequent development, and comment, of any sort, might be therefore injudicious.

It is in deference to their own tradition that allusion is made last of all in this survey of the earliest years to the men by whom the work was being done. *The Delhi Gazetteer* for 1883–84 gives the following list of staff in July, 1883:

Rev. S. S. Allnutt, M.A.	*Principal.*
Rev. G. A. Lefroy, M.A.	*Professor.*
Rev. H. C. Carlyon, M.A.	*Professor.*
Babu N. Mahendra Dutt, B.A.,	*Asstt. Professor of Mathematics.*
Babu Nritya Gopal Bose, B.A. ...	*Professor of Natural Science.*
Maulvi Shah Jehan	*Professor of Persian.*
Maulvi Jamil-ur-Rahman	*Professor of Arabic.*
Pandit Vihari Prasad Dube ...	*Professor of Sanskrit.*

The first three are mentioned in Allnutt's letter of

February, 1881, and were reinforced from England at the end of 1883 by the Rev. J. W. T. Wright (Pembroke). Local appointments were all made, till the College Constitution was granted by the Home Societies in 1913, by the Mission Council. Dutt, whose lectures on science have already been alluded to, was appointed in 1882 to replace Master Ram Chandra, and served on the College staft till 1891. Bose's appointment as 'science master in the College' appears in the Mission Council minutes for February, 1883, science having till then been taught by 'the assistant surgeon of Delhi, who does his work with great zeal.' Rates of pay, as quoted by Allnutt for 1884, are interesting: Dutt was getting (with house rent) Rs. 230 per month; Bose, Rs. 150 per month; while the 'three Oriental Language Professors' drew Rs. 95 per month, between them. M. Shah Jehan came up from the School staff. He served till his death in 1907, and his name is commemorated in the annual prize for Urdu. M. Jamil-ur-Rahman was appointed in July, 1883 (on Rs. 20 per month) but by August Mr. Allnutt stated 'that as there were no Arabic students in the College and the Maulvi had been found incompetent to teach Persian, he had been told his services were not required.' He was re-appointed later, however (apparently in September or October, 1883) retired in 1906 on account of ill-health, and died in 1924.

The revival of Sanskrit learning was one of Allnutt's most cherished hopes, and in June, 1882, 'he having asked whether it was desirable, if practicable, to introduce Sanskrit as an extra subject into the School curriculum, it was decided that it was desirable, and he was empowered to make the necessary arrangements, the total immediate expense of Sanskrit teaching, both in School and College. not to exceed Rs. 15'! By July, 1883, however, 'the Principal was granted leave to offer up to Rs. 50 for a pandit,' and was able to report the next month that Pandit Vihari Prasad had been engaged on Rs. 40

per month. Other accessions to the staff during the 'city' period were Babu P. C. Mukerji, in Bose's place in July, 1885, and the arrival of S. K. Rudra, in June, 1886. Mention should be made here too of B. Sri Kishen Dass, known to so many generations of students, who appears to have been appointed in 1887—on Rs. 15 per month!—as both clerk and librarian.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLLEGE BUILDING

As already noticed, the question of accommodation had begun to press itself as early as 1885. About the same time the Municipality were considering the removal of the Civil Hospital from the site which, actually, it still occupies, and hopes were entertained by the Mission of purchasing and utilising those buildings, an appeal even for subscriptions towards the scheme being taken in hand by the Cambridge Committee. After long delay, however, the Municipality decided in 1888 to retain and enlarge the hospital on its existing site, and the Mission, backed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Lyall, who presided at the College prize-giving in 1888, set about finding land on which to erect their own building. At the 100th meeting of the Mission Council, on 8th January, 1889, 'two possible sites were proposed by Mr. Allnutt, one outside the Lahore Gate, one inside the Cashmere Gate, opposite the Provincial Bank.' By August he was able to report to the Council that 'Government had granted a site of land (valued at Rs. 5,000) for the new college buildings and boarding house, and a further grant or Rs. 10,000 towards the building,' subsequently increased to Rs. 15,000.

The foundation stone was laid in April, 1890, by Sir Charles Elliott, the head of the Public Works Department and later Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, of whom Allnutt records that the sympathy he showed in the undertaking and

the valuable advice given by him were a great encouragement and help in these early stages. The stone is of Jaipur marble and bears the following inscription:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF SOUND LEARNING
AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE, DELHI
THIS STONE WAS LAID BY
SIR CHARLES A. ELLIOTT, K.C.S.I.
ON APRIL 9, 1890

Construction began in June, the Mission report commenting that 'the site chosen may not be the best possible, but it seems the best available in an old and crowded city.'

The designs for the main building were supplied by Colonel Jacob, the Chief Engineer of the Jaipur State.[1]

But owing to his going on furlough, the actual carrying of them out and the preparation of the designs for the boarding house and superintendent's house on the other side of the road was undertaken by Mr. W. Arundell, M.S.A., an architect then employed on the Delhi-Kalka Line. On his being transferred, another engineer of the same railway, Mr. J. Wallace, generously gave his services free as supervising engineer. Mr. Parkes, the Executive Engineer of the Provincial Division, Delhi, kindly consented to act as referee in cases of dispute between the contractor, Lala Daya Kishan, and the engineer appointed by the Mission, who in the first

[1] Colonel Sir Samuel Swinton Jacob, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., was Superintending Engineer, Jaipur State, from 1867 to 1902, left Jaipur in 1912, and died in 1917. The mark he left on modern Jaipur is known to all who have visited the place. In the memorial tablet erected by the Maharaja 'as a mark of personal friendship and esteem' in the Church at Jaipur designed and completed by Jacob in 1876, he is refered to as 'a true and devoted Churchman, who manifested in a marked degree the spirit of Christ towards all with whom he came in contact. His kindly and sympathetic nature endeared him to all.'

place was Mr. C. B. Williams, and later, on his appointment to another post, Mr. W. Grindal.

The new buildings were formally opened by the Lieutenant-Governor on December 8th, 1891. The ceremony was attended by the Bishop of Lahore (Bishop Matthew); the Director of Public Instruction, Mr. J. Sime; the Commissioner of the Delhi Division, Colonel H. Grey; and the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. R. Clarke. From the account of the function given by the *Civil and Military Gazette*, it appears that 'a large arch had been set up bearing the name of the institution in golden letters, and the grounds and building were gaily adorned with flags and bunting; the hall was also tastefully decorated with flower-plants, and over the dais at the top were placed a couple of large Venetian masts of blue satin, having on them in English and vernacular the name of the College and the device, "Truth without fear." The space afforded in the hall was not sufficient for the large number of spectators and many had to stand about the doors. The interest evinced in the work by natives was particularly noticeable by the large number of all classes and creeds who were present. The galleries were crowded with students arrayed in holiday attire.'

A special form of service, conducted by the Bishop, had been prepared for the occasion and will be found at the end of this chapter. In the course of it, Allnutt read a lengthy report describing the progress of the scheme and enumerating the many individuals to whose sympathy or active interest the Mission was under obligation for its completion. The report opened with an expression of 'deep thankfulness to Almighty God that He has enabled us so nearly to fulfil, after so many delays, uncertainties and anxieties, what has been our aspiration for more than six years, and that we shall in future have a College in every way adapted to meet all our present requirements and to provide for any expansion of our

work which we can venture to hope for in the future. When I survey the spacious hall in which we are now assembled and think of the large and commodious class-rooms by which it is surrounded, I am inclined to feel thankful that the local authorities decided to retain for their own use the civil hospital situated near the Jama Masjid which, six years ago, we looked forward to being allowed to secure for our own College. Though the situation of it would have been far more central and convenient for our students, yet it would not have afforded the advantages which the present building will supply.' After thanks to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Deputy Commissioner for securing the site and the grant towards the cost of building, Allnutt acknowledged what the Mission owed to Colonel Jacob. 'I find it hard,' he declared, 'to estimate the extent of our indebtedness to him for the services which, as a labour of love and in furtherance of the work which he so fully sympathises with in all its branches, he has rendered to us. It is a subject of great regret that he is not able to be present with us to-day, or to see how far we have succeeded in carrying out his design. Though it would not be fair to him, considering the limits as to expense to which he was confined, to say of this edifice, *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*, yet I think all will admit that he has given us a building worthy of his high reputation. We have not yet been able to ascertain by experience how far it will prove adapted to our educational needs, but so far as I can foresee we are not likely to have any ground of complaint in this respect. Certainly, if it should prove to be any way ill-adapted, it is I, and not he, who is the fit subject for blame.'

After describing the plan of the building, Allnutt drew particular attention to the clock which was to be placed over the porch and which had been purchased from funds contributed by former students of the College, who 'had testified

to their attachment to their Alma Mater by the liberal way in which they had responded to the proposal made to them that they should take a share in the erection of the new buildings.' It had not been found possible to put it up for the opening day and Rs. 500 of its cost still remained to be found, but Allnutt's confidence in the readiness of the present students to relieve the College of the burden of the debt was justified, and the whole amount was paid off within three years.

Acknowledgement was next made by Allnutt of the services of the several gentlemen who had been concerned in the actual construction of the building, and he then unburdened his mind of some of the financial anxieties which still lay upon him: 'The original contract for the College was estimated at Rs. 37,000. The supply of funds was sufficient to justify sanction for a porch and pucca upper verandah in addition to the original design. Making an allowance for items not reckoned at first, I was led to believe that the total cost would not exceed Rs. 42,000. It now appears from the fullest investigation that I have been able to have made, that the total cost of the College will not be less than Rs. 55,000 or Rs. 13,000 more than, even with the above liberal margin for extra expenses, had been originally agreed upon.' Rs. 2,000 had to be added for the College wall, and though contributions and Government grant already received had enabled him to meet the original figure, Rs. 15,000 thus remained to be borrowed to pay off the contractor. Though the kindness of two friends had already supplied rather more than half that sum, for the greater part without interest, Allnutt had evidently some justification for remarking that 'the financial situation thus revealed is such as tends considerably to mar the pleasure and satisfaction which to-day would otherwise have afforded us.' 'Still,' he proceeds, 'I do not wish that it should be allowed to cast such a shadow over

the proceedings as to obscure the solid ground for rejoicing which, after all abatement remains in the fact that we have been enabled to raise, to the honour of God and the good of the people of this city, a building which will not only be an ornament to the city (that is comparatively a small matter), but a permanent and substantial witness to the Christian Faith, which it is our mission here to establish and extend. That it may be made a means to that end is our hope and our prayer. We have met together to-day, not for a simple pageant, not merely to welcome the presence of our Queen Empress's representative and the countenance he gives to our work (though for both we tender our sincere and hearty thanks), but to invoke the blessing of God, our Father, upon the work to be carried out here, and to dedicate the building to His Service in the name of His Son, Jesus Christ. The presence of our Bishop here to-day, which is a great cause of satisfaction and thankfulness to us, serves, if need be, to emphasize the fact which we desire ever to keep clearly before ourselves and others, that our mission and our end in all our work here is to preach the Gospel of Christ and to bring the young men of Delhi and all those who may seek our instruction to know Him and acknowledge Him as their Lord and Saviour.'

The Lieutenant-Governor then made a speech of considerable interest, not only for its appreciation of missionary education, but also for its anticipation of the opportunities with which such education has been faced in a centre such as Delhi:

I am very glad to have been able to be here to-day, and it has been a great pleasure to me to hear, in the report just read, the grateful acknowledgements made of the help which the Punjab Government has given in the erection of this handsome building, but I must say that I think that Government only did its bare duty in giving assistance to the extent which it did, for it is certain that in the matter of education,

pure and simple, we shall reap a four-fold return. Like some other officers who have served many years in the Punjab Commission, I used to notice that of the men in the country who have risen to high positions and proved the most reliable in Government service, a somewhat remarkable proportion received their first education in the old mission schools. I am speaking in this remark of men unconverted to Christianity, for in those days there were no native Christians in the higher grades; but I may add that at the present day, of the three or four native Christians who are serving as extra Assistant Commissioners in the Province, all are very reliable men, and at least three are first-rate officers. Well, gentlemen, if the mission schools with their comparatively weak staff did so well, then I am sure that we may look with confidence to this College for higher and wider results, for the education and the discipline, and the example here afforded will be higher and stronger. Moreover, Delhi is a great city with quick witted inhabitants, situated in the most commanding position in Upper India, and any impulse given from Delhi must have a far-reaching effect. In former days Delhi was not only an imperial city, it was also a centre of the whole civilisation of Hindustan. St. Stephen's Mission College is worked by men who finely represent the higher education and the higher spiritual life of England, and I believe it will powerfully assist Delhi to become the centre of the higher modern civilisation of India. What that civilisation will be, remains to be seen. The people of India are free to choose, so far at least as human power is concerned, but I am sure that whether generally and avowedly Christian or not, its foundation will rest upon Christian ideas, as the civilisation of the West does. I have no doubt of the truth of these ideas, and I believe that, as was said in early days in the West, so it will be true in the East, that *magna est veritas et praevalebit*, 'truth is great and will prevail.' As to the cost of the building and the excess over the estimate, it seems to me that it has been very cheaply done. Many of us, myself included, will, I know, be happy to do our share in meeting the debt. Now, sir, having said the few words I had to say I will, with your permission, perform the honourable part allotted to me in the opening service.

His Honour then declared the building open in the following words:

In the faith of Jesus Christ I declare this building to be open in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

The report in the *Pioneer*, from which this account of the function has been taken, concludes with the following details and a well deserved appreciation of Allnutt's share in the whole undertaking.

A great clapping of hands followed, and when silence had been restored, the Bishop delivered a short address, dwelling mainly on the great good in a Christian sense which must necessarily accrue to the natives of this country by the system of education adopted by the Cambridge Mission, which combines religion and secular instruction. Another hymn was then sung, followed by a prayer, and the usual blessing by the Bishop brought the function to a close.

Sir James Lyall next inspected the building, being shown over the premises by Mr. Allnutt, and, as he was leaving the College, the Rev. Mr. Maitland of the S.P.G. Mission and his choir of native Christian lads gave us a hearty rendering of 'God save the Queen.' This was followed by three lusty cheers for the success of the new St. Stephen's Mission College led by Colonel Grey, the Commissioner, and the assembly then dispersed.

I do not think it would be right to close this report without some mention of Mr. Allnutt's share in the undertaking of which he has given us such full particulars in his report. He has not failed to mention the names of all those who took part, however trivial, in the work of planning and estimating, and in erecting the building, and it should not therefore be forgotten that he it was who first conceived the idea of building a new College to replace the present hired premises, which would not only be an ornament to the station but which would provide ample accommodation for increased requirements in the future. It was due mainly, if not solely, to his untiring exertions that the Cambridge Mission eventually found themselves in a position to carry out the great work,

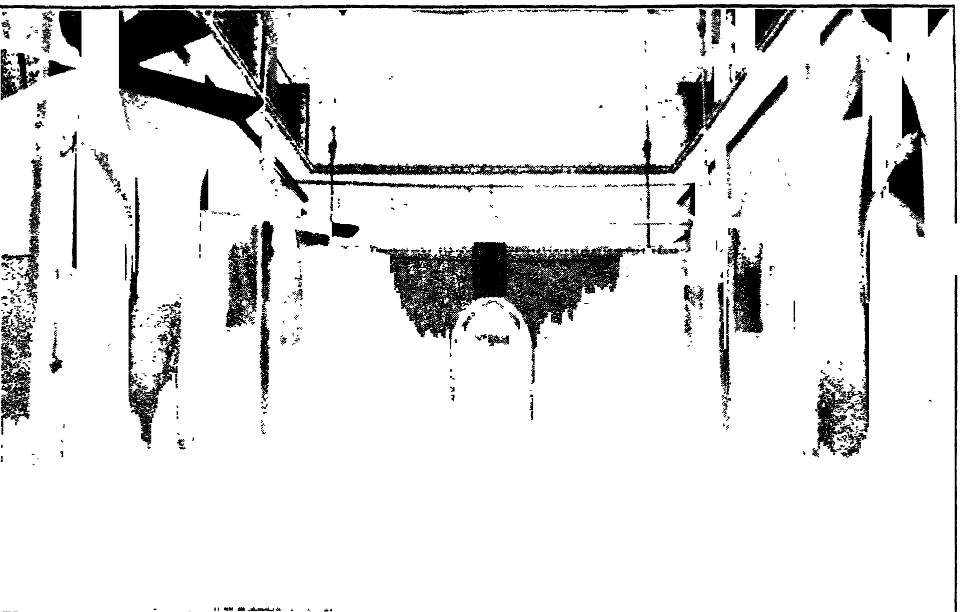
and it is upon his shoulders that the responsibility of obtaining and providing the funds to meet the cost of the undertaking has lain. How he has acquitted himself of that responsibility and with what mingled feelings of anxiety and pleasure he must have watched the steadily sinking funds and the gradually rising building from day to day, a perusal of his report will show.

The plan of the building is eminently simple, a large and lofty central assembly hall, flanked by class-rooms on the ground floor and by upper floor class-rooms opening on to a gallery running round three sides of the hall. It is a tradition, though not to be found on record, that the pillars supporting the gallery were, in Colonel Jacob's design, of stone, and that the existing masonry and plaster ones were substituted by Allnutt for reasons of economy. If so, the change meant a considerable loss in architectural effect and may also have been the cause of the bad acoustics. The porch over the great main door carries the principal's office and the clock. Verandahs run all round the class-rooms on the outside on both floors, except on the south side, on which blank walls left a possibility of extension which unfortunately, when needed later, was precluded by the available ground space being insufficient. The structure is mainly of Delhi stone, finished with red Agra sandstone. One or two forgotten points recorded at the time may be of interest to later generations, e.g.

Recesses in the wall in the porch on each side of the main entrance are provided for posting College notices.

Overhanging cases all round the balustrade of the galleries could be provided at any time, if desired, to keep geological or other specimens for a museum.

One drawback remains and will give a good deal of trouble before it can be fully removed. All the class-rooms echo very considerably, and teaching is a good deal interfered with. The ceilings will have to be covered with canvas and the floors perhaps to be carpeted.



THE COLLEGE HALL

None of these anticipations have been fulfilled.

The texts which are such a special feature of the front of the building are described as follows by Allnutt:

It may interest our friends to know what are the texts which will proclaim to our students and native visitors the purpose we have in view in our work in the beautiful exterior which meets their admiring gaze. On the front of the porch, at the top of the parapet, a Cross has been made in bas-relief. Immediately under the bracket, below the clock, the words 'Ad Dei Gloriam' have been engraved in gold letters on the Agra stone slab in the centre—and have latterly been adopted as the College motto. In the niches on either side of the open space below, two texts in Urdu and Hindi have been painted on polished *chunám*. One is 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: a good understanding have all they that do thereafter: the praise of it endureth for ever.' The other is 'Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not to thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths.' On the east side, above the verandah, in three horizontally oblong spaces is a Sanskrit rendering of Psalm cxix. 9 ('Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? Even by ruling himself after Thy word'), with an Urdu rendering on either side. In the vertical niches between this and the porch have been engraved in Urdu three texts from St. John's Gospel—'I am the Way, the Truth and the Life'; 'When He the Spirit of Truth is come, He shall guide you into all truth'; 'Ye shall know the Truth and the truth shall make you free.' In the corresponding spaces on the west[1] side the words 'I am the Light of the world: he that believeth in Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life,' have been inserted in Hindi. And lastly in the niches above the verandah on the west[1] side have been inscribed the words 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,' in Sanskrit and Urdu. Lest it should be thought that in having this work carried out I have indulged in unjustifiable expense, I may mention that the total cost will not be more than Rs. 60, which a friend has kindly promised to defray.

[1] The original says 'south,' clearly a slip.

This work was carried out by two workmen lent by Colonel Jacob from his own staff at Jaipur, the painted texts being done on polished *chunám*, a special preparation of ordinary lime and marble dust, which he employed very largely in his decorative work there.

An anonymous writer in *Engineering*, the chief architectural paper in India in those days, attacked the Mission for departing from gothic models and adopting a Moghul style of architecture, the latter being, he maintained, wholly unsuited both in conception and character for a building intended for Christian purposes. Allnutt replied that the genius of Christianity had always been to adapt, utilise, and when necessary, transform and purify the arts of the nations it comes in contact with, and that it surely could not be wrong to appropriate for Christian uses a style of architecture at once beautiful in itself, and which experience had shown to be eminently suitable from the point of view of utility.

There are several significant features which make the final balance sheet (see appendix) worth recording. But the reference to the Students' Clock Fund in Allnutt's report to Cambridge for 1889, may suitably bring us back from bricks and mortar to the living edifice that he was raising:

One interesting and encouraging feature in connection with the appeal is the part which students are taking in raising funds for the building. . . . I received such urgent requests from some of our former students to be allowed to help, that I felt justified in calling a meeting of the present undergraduates, and telling them that if they liked to take any action in the matter, they had my full approval in so doing. Since then I have left them entirely alone, but I am told that they have formed a committee and are raising subscriptions. . . . You would, I think, feel that the quiet but enthusiastic way in which they are making this effort shows that the College has got a strong hold on their affections, to a degree, I suspect, which they are scarcely aware of even themselves.

APPENDIX A

The Form of Service

Used at the Opening of the College Buildings, 8th December, 1891.

Hymn: 'O God our help in ages past.'
Versicles and Responses.
Psalms cxxvii and cxix. 9-16.
Lesson: Zechariah iv. 6-10; viii. 20-23.
Hymn: 'From all that dwell below the skies.'
The Report of the Principal is read.
The Lieutenant-Governor declares the building open.
Hymn: 'Jesus shall reign where'er the sun.'
The Lord's Prayer and the following prayers:

Almighty and everlasting God, the Giver of all good gifts, we yield Thee humble and hearty thanks that by the help of Thy good hand upon us we have been permitted to complete the work of building this College, to the glory of Thy great Name; we desire now to consecrate it to Thy service, and we pray Thee to grant that it may ever be a witness to Thy truth in this City. May the name of Thy Blessed Son be glorified, and the power of Thy Holy Spirit made manifest here in the faithful teaching of Thy word, and in the turning of many from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto Thee. May Thy blessing rest on all those who have dedicated of their means to the building of this place, and may they and we be ever more and more dedicated in body and soul to Thy service and the spread of Thy Kingdom on earth; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O God, Who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and didst send Thy Blessed Son to preach peace to them that are far off and to them that are nigh: Grant that all the people of this land may feel after Thee and find Thee; and hasten, O Heavenly Father, the fulfilment of Thy promise to pour out Thy Spirit upon all flesh; through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

The Blessing.

APPENDIX B

Abstract of Balance Sheet of College Building Fund

Audited at Delhi on August 29th, 1894, by C. J. Michôd, Esq., Agent, Bank of Bengal, Delhi.

Receipts

	Rs.	A.	P.
Grant from S.P.C.K. ... ... (£1000)	12,807	5	2
Other Contributions forwarded through Cambridge Treasurer ... ... (£1850)	25,411	0	0
Government Grant	15,000	0	0
Other Contributions received in India	32,174	11	8
Students Clock Fund, Subscriptions	1,467	7	0
Interest on Clock Fund	41	9	0
Loans now Repaid	1,300	0	0
Loan from Rev. S. S. Allnutt of £300 still unpaid[1] ...	4,500	0	0
Total Rs.	92,702	0	10

Expenditure

	Rs.	A.	P.
Architect and Engineers—			
W. Arundell, Esq.	1,492	6	6
C. B. Williams, Esq.	2,641	3	0
W. Grindall, Esq.	1,500	0	0
Messrs. Mackenzie, for Iron for College Boarding House	2,360	5	8
Lala Daya Kishan, Contractor[2]	74,708	0	0
Petty Contractors[3]	6,891	13	0
Students' Clock	1,500	0	0
Miscellaneous	284	0	9
Loans repaid, with interest	1,324	3	11
Total Rs.	92,702	0	10

[1] This debt was reported as finally paid off in 1900.

[2] This item includes cost of College, Boarding House, Superintendent's House, and Wall of Compound.

[3] This item includes cost of Levelling Site, Decoration Work in College, Well of Boarding House, etc.

CHAPTER V

PROGRESS

THE College progressed more rapidly than ever in its new home. Already in 1889 one student had headed the list in the Rurki Engineers' Examination, winning a prize of Rs. 1,000, a great distinction as the competition was open to both Europeans and Indians in the whole of North India. Another in the same year came out first in the Licentiate in Law Examination, 'a very severe ordeal which only two in all succeeded in passing.' For 1891 there were 'several successes to record of a most encouraging kind'—first place in the examination for the post of Extra Assistant Commissioner, the fourth such distinction for the College in ten years; first place in the Munsifship (Subordinate Judiciary) examination; and second place among Indian candidates in the Rurki Entrance Examination. 'As we have such emphatic testimony,' remarks Allnutt, 'to the high character, generally speaking, of those who enter the public service from our College, these successes are all the more gratifying.' The year 1893 saw the success of the first (and only) M.A. student of the College, Lala Bhagwan Das, now retired after a long and distinguished career in the Punjab Educational Service. He stood first in the province in English and second in the whole list. His success had such a stimulating effect that a new M.A. class of four was at once formed, two of whom duly passed the next year, both standing high in the list. 'It is remarkable,' Allnutt comments 'that we seem to succeed better in the M.A. than

in other examinations. I am inclined to think that the reason of this is that, owing to the absence of the constant stress to which the keener competition felt at Lahore subjects the students, our men read more widely and have perhaps more leisure to think about what they read, and this tells in their favour in an examination which so much more fully tests general culture.' In 1897 again the College was able to congratulate itself that its M.A. results could not, on paper, be better; four were sent up and all passed. Moreover, of those four two were in the College Cricket XI and played all through the season, besides being regular attendants and very valuable members of the weekly Shakespeare Reading Society (one being secretary); and all four were students who distinctly helped to raise the tone and traditions of College society.

The results in other examinations continued equally satisfactory (the B.A. result of 1895, for instance, was the best that the College had ever had, and the solitary M.A. sent up that year passed first in his subject, English, in the Province), and numbers continued to increase for several years up to well over 80. They then suffered a set-back due to circumstances which, though apparently disadvantageous, really marked a great educational advance. Before considering them, however, some incidental points of progress may be noted.

Wright, as Acting-Principal in Allnutt's absence, records for 1893 that:

The discipline and tone are, I should say, decidedly good. In the senior classes the attitude of the students towards our religious teaching strikes me as being respectful if not appreciative. . . . Cricket, I am glad to say, extended its beneficial influence much more widely in the College . . . indeed so far as I can judge, all sides of work are growing and developing quietly and steadily, in a way which promises future, if it does not supply present, history; and

I believe the thought in my mind is as real as the wish that as education is slowly developing all over India, so our distinctive Christian education with its special aims and methods is working out a character and a great destiny for itself, amid many difficulties and drawbacks.

In the next year the ownership of the College building, after great difficulties over the proper form of the deed, was put on a satisfactory legal basis and the authorities were at last able to avail themselves of the generous grant of £1,000 made by the S.P.C.K. towards the building.[1]

The same year, 1894, witnessed a gratifying increase in the number of Christian students, but the enlargement of St. John's Divinity School at Lahore made it uncertain how long that would be maintained, in spite of the foundation by Maitland of the Winter scholarships for such students. This, apparently, the first endowment of the College, was in memory of the Rev. R. R. Winter, the veteran S.P.G. missionary who had died in 1891. Lefroy succeeded him as head of the Mission and consequently gave up any further work in the College, except occasional addresses.

A probably unique case of discipline is reported by Allnutt for 1893:

It was found that a number of Bibles and other religious books used in the First Year class had been wantonly mutilated by some of the students. . . . It was agreed . . . after careful deliberation to suspend the two ringleaders for the rest of their course, two others who were less guilty being suspended for three months. The punishment has proved effective, as nothing of the kind has been since attempted. The incident, painful in itself, had two encouraging features. One was the voluntary confession of one of the offenders, who showed every sign of real repentance for what he had done. . . . The other feature was the strongly expressed

[1] It is fitting also to record here, before it is entirely forgotten, the name of Lord Ashcombe as a particularly generous donor, not only to the Building Fund but also later for the cricket ground.

disapproval of the action on the part of the elder students, who entirely concurred in the punishment inflicted, which they appeared to think, if anything, too mild.

Other items of interest recorded in these years are the presentation of the Bishop of Durham's portrait by a lady who acted on a suggestion of Allnutt's and made a copy of Richmond's well-known portrait of him in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; and Allnutt's acquisition, through special donations, of the pictures which must have, as he intended, provoked many a mental questioning, Long's 'Diana or Christ' and Doré's 'Christ leaving the Prætorium.' But probably the most significant feature of the hall are the texts, which were inscribed in 1896:

A very beautiful addition has been made to the decoration of the hall by the painting of the verse beginning 'I am the Light of the World,' just above the dais, from a design supplied by our constant friend, Colonel Jacob of Jaipur. It is executed in gold and black letters on a background of specially prepared marble plaster. On the opposite side are the Sanskrit words (in Devanagri characters) *Satyam eva vijayate, namritam.* ('Truth verily conquers, not falsehood'), taken from the *Mundaka Upanishad.* Both will, we may hope, exercise a silent influence over the minds of our students, the one announcing the inherent power of Truth, the other the claim of Him who alone can satisfy the yearnings of earnest souls to attain it.

The earliest seeds of two other well-known features of College life were also sown in these days. Wright had instituted a weekly Shakespeare reading, which by 1894 'generally numbered five professors and twelve students,' and which Cunningham found in 1896 so well appreciated by the senior students that he was led to get up a junior society for the First Year . . . 'the valuable thing about such societies is that it accustoms the students to come to our rooms on special terms.' The Falstaff Club (first mentioned by that name in 1899) emerged later out of these beginnings. Again

an anticipation, in some respects, of the College Magazine is to be found in the *Cambridge Mission Papers* of these days which contained short addresses by the professors and others and were circulated among past and present students of the College.

Though the principalship of the School was relinquished by Allnut in 1893, it was not till 1896 that the School and College had their separate prize-days 'with distinct advantage to the latter, so far as order and quiet are concerned.' (Dr. Ewing of the Forman College presided, and some scenes from Shakespeare were, as usual, rendered by the students.) It was, however, in respect of the club and of cricket that the separation from the School was most felt. In the case of the former it was evidently felt by Allnutt to have been a loss. 'Our Club,' he writes in 1896, 'has not been in a very flourishing condition during the last year. . . . I attribute this in a large measure to the rise of private clubs which tend to divert the interest of the students from the steadygoing institution which is to a great extent the mother of them all.' And in 1897 he reports that the severance in the cricket field

led naturally to a desire for entire separation of the College from the School as regards the Star of Delhi Club. They had worked together for a number of years and on the whole I think, with profit to both. But . . . the line of cleavage, had been becoming more distinctly marked, and at the last annual meeting of the Club the partnership was dissolved. It was deemed advisable that the College students should be allowed to constitute a Club entirely under their own management. As soon as they evolved a constitution, I handed over to them a suite of rooms in the College hostel which happened to become vacant at that time. . . . It is too soon to report whether the College will benefit as much as the School has by the change.

The insistence on student initiative and leadership even in those early days is significant.

Regarding the benefit to cricket from the change, Wright had no misgivings:

We have at last (1896), I rejoice to say, succeeded in securing a cricket-ground of our own close to the College, thanks mainly to the kindness and energy of the Commissioner, Mr. Clarke. The suggestion of the site[1] was due to him, and necessitated the diversion of a road and the cutting down of a number of fruit trees which were evidently valuable, as the Municipal Committee estimated the necessary compensation at Rs. 1,000. Now, however, all difficulties have been surmounted, and the ground stands proudly within its own rather superior fencing, growing greener and greener every day; rolled too by its own roller, as much as two strong oxen can roll from morn till night,' though I could wish it were more. . . . I am glad to have this opportunity of recording our obligations for valuable aid rendered by Mr. H. C. Robertson, P.W.D., Mr. C. C. Hardy, Assistant Engineer, E.I.R., and last but not least, Mr. A. H. Dovan, of the E.I.R., whose help has been invaluable. Hitherto we have been playing—School and College together—on what is commonly called the Station Ground, i.e. the only decent cricket-ground in Delhi, in the Queen's Gardens, where the English residents play. It will be a very great comfort and advantage to have a ground of our own. This will involve a separation from the School, which for the present, at all events, will continue to play on the old ground.

Steady attention was meanwhile being directed to problems of teaching and curriculum. Allnutt from the first had emphasized the duty of the College towards Oriental learning, particularly Sanskrit, and deals with the whole question in his report to Cambridge for 1894:

An interesting link with the past has disappeared. We have had to part with our venerable Sanskrit pandit, Vihari Prasad. Though a really learned man, his entire addiction to

[1] The site is exactly outside the Kashmir Gate, on the very spot where the troops must have massed for the final assault on the breach in 1857. The significance of the contrast in its present use needs no emphasis.

Oriental methods of teaching and ignorance of English unfitted him to prepare men for our present University course, and failures were becoming more and more frequent. So he had to go (at the end of 1892). In his place we have got a Bengali M.A. (Pandit Paras Nath Lahiri), who is a good English scholar and fairly well acquainted with Western methods. He has so far been uniformly successful, and two of his pupils are probably going to take up Sanskrit for their M.A., if he is willing to undertake it. The M.A. course is a very stiff one, comprising selections from the *Rig Veda*, *Yaska's Nirukta*, and either *Nyaya*, *Vedanta*, or advanced grammar, so that both teacher and pupils will have their work cut out for them. As they are both really students whose main object is to make the study a means of more thoroughly investigating the truth of their religion, one cannot but encourage them in their design. . . . In general, however, the number of students studying Sanskrit has greatly decreased. There were only six last year altogether. This decrease is largely due to the great severity of the examination, out of all reason, I think, when the backward state of the Punjab is borne in mind.

In the B.A. classes there is a general tendency now to forsake Oriental studies in favour of Mathematics, Natural Science, and sometimes, Philosophy. I suppose this was to be expected, and when we consider how very defective is the system of teaching Persian and Arabic, lacking as it does almost entirely any educational value, it is hard to regret this altogether. At the same time it is not in itself desirable, and in the Punjab especially it may be said to go far to stultify the *raison d'être* of our University, which was called into existence for the express purpose of conserving and developing Oriental studies. That there will in time be a reaction in favour of these studies there can, I think, be little doubt. It has set in decisively in Bengal . . . there is much to be thankful for in all this as perhaps the necessary phases of the birth of a truly indigenous, national civilisation. Whether this be too sanguine a view or not, it is certain that here in the Punjab, so far as the statistics of education enable us to judge, the reaction is the other way, and far greater encouragement to the study of Oriental languages will have to be offered if the tendency to forsake it is to be checked.

Philosophy was another subject, the importance of which was keenly felt by Allnutt, and he deals with it with characteristic humility two years later:

During my absence from India a native Christian named Mukarji has been appointed to take up my work in Philosophy. He has hardly, I expect, the mental calibre to fit him to take up the work permanently. But I have for two reasons been led to feel that it would be eminently desirable for me to hand over. . . . It is in the first place a subject which ought to be taught by someone more fully equipt for the work than I am, . . . the next reason, in the B.A. classes very few men take up this subject, and the result is that for some years past my lectures have hardly brought me as a teacher into touch with the main body of the students in these classes. This is a distinct and serious loss for one in the position of Principal. . . . On these grounds (not to mention others) it would I think, be a distinct gain to the College if I could withdraw from my lectureship in this subject in favour of a well-qualified Cambridge man. . . . We have been moving the Senate to give Philosophy (as well as History) a fairer chance of being taken up by raising the number of marks allotted to these subjects to the same total as that assigned for Science and Mathematics. Hitherto they have been quite unfairly handicapped. . . . I endeavoured, but without success, to make it possible for a student to take up both Philosophy and History (as well as English) for his B.A. course. Oddly enough this is the only combination which a man may *not* at present adopt.

A letter of Westcott's of April, 1898, conveniently summarises the rest of the teaching arrangements of those days:

Before the hot weather the Principal had to go away on furlough and Wright took over charge. The Principal had engaged a Bengali Christian to teach Logic and Psychology to the students in the Intermediate classes; in the B.A. classes there were no students taking Philosophy. As there were no students reading for the M.A., we were able without difficulty to carry on the College work with only two Europeans on the staff. Wright took over all the English of the B.A. classes and I gladly resigned one period of English

in the Intermediate to Mr. Rudra, in whose hands was thus placed the entire English teaching in those classes. This work is perhaps the most important and certainly the most laborious work in the College. . . . Mr. Rudra gladly devotes himself to this hard task, and we who have more to do with the senior students reap some of the fruits of his toil. My own share of the work was History and Political Economy; the Political Economy in the B.A. classes had formerly been taken by Mr. Rudra and the History by Wright,[1] and the History in the Intermediate by Cunningham. This further movement in the direction of specialisation has, I believe, been beneficial.

Those who are troubled with the present day question of combining M.A. study with the course in Law should congratulate themselves on reading the following two extracts from Allnutt's reports for 1895 and 1897 respectively:

All those who wish to study Law are compelled to go to Lahore for the purpose. In India men are allowed to study Law as undergraduates, and the result is that a large number of men who would otherwise have studied here are forced to go to Lahore. At the present the number of such men is about forty. . . . The leading inhabitants naturally dislike to have to send their sons so far away to study Law, when their educational wants are fully met in other respects. For a long time, however, I resisted the proposal, as I felt very doubtful whether it was educationally desirable to admit the principle of such a dual system of study as the profession of Law and Arts at the same time involves. I was doubtful also as to the extent to which we should be able to maintain that direct religious connection with such students which it is the main object of our work here to foster and strengthen. As soon, however, as I fully realised the extent of the loss which the annual exodus of men to Lahore involved, I was led to feel that the *pros* outweighed the *cons*, and on referring the matter to the Mission Council found that there was a decided majority in favour of application being made to open a Law class here for our students. This I accordingly did

[1] In whose hands it had been since Lefroy had left the College.

last October. . . . I went to Lahore in February to attend a meeting of the Senate, which had been specially summoned at our instance to decide the question. I was given a perfectly fair hearing, and after about two hours' discussion the motion was rejected by 20 votes to 12.

A change in the regime of the University has made it possible, if not probable, that a renewed application for permission to open a Law class in Delhi might now meet with success. But it has of late seemed to me to be a wiser policy to aim at a measure, which, if passed, would secure to us the chief object which the establishing of a Law class has in view, viz. the retention here of the students who now leave us to study Law at Lahore, while it would further what all would welcome as a much-needed educational reform. At present . . . men begin to dabble in Law before they have passed the Intermediate, while a large proportion of the B.A. students at Lahore are occupied with Law studies and go in for Law examinations. This is an utterly unsound state of things, and what I hope is that measures may be taken to make it impossible for a man to take up Law at all while he is studying in an Arts College. We should then attain better results in both Arts and Law.

The hope was soon fulfilled, and Law has, ever since, been relegated to post-graduate study.

On the other hand there is a still sadly familiar ring about the following from Westcott's letter of April, 1898:

With the change from fortnightly to six-monthly examinations in the College, some change had to be made in the rules of promotion. It is a matter of great difficulty to induce our students to work during the first year of their course, they have so little power of realising the future; for three months or six weeks before that terrible examination they will stuff themselves with almost anything they can lay hands on . . . but the idea of working two years before the examination is ridiculous! The matter has again been considered since the Principal returned and it has been now agreed that any student in the first year who fails to pass in three out of his four subjects, when the results of his two College examinations are added together, will not be promoted

into the second year class; and that those who fail in three subjects in the second year examinations will not have their names sent up from the College for the Intermediate examination. On the question of applying similar measures of discipline in the B.A. classes, there was a division of opinion among the teachers, and the Principal reserved the matter for further consideration. Measures of this nature may have had an effect in frightening students away from the College, the entry in the first year being decidedly small. Further, some students who had failed badly in the Intermediate were not re-admitted, which reduced the number in the second year, so that the numbers in the College during the last year have been about sixty, instead of eighty. This has its disadvantages: firstly financial, for the falling-off in numbers does not decrease the expenses but does seriously diminish the income; and then too we would gladly extend our influence as widely as possible. But quality rather than quantity is a necessity for a good Mission College; it is of the first importance that there should be a spirit of industry in the place and we trust that a little strictness on our part may serve to promote this; it certainly enables us to get rid of some students who persistently waste their time, and but one or two of this sort seriously impede the work of a class.

This assertion of sound educational standards, coupled with external circumstances, considerably affected the progress of the College for the next few years. But before tracing the later course of events a large number of staff acquisitions and losses must be noticed.

CHAPTER VI

STAFF GAINS AND LOSSES

THROUGHOUT the 'city' period the School and College were administered as a combined institution by Allnutt as Principal. With the move of the College, however, it became clear that the responsibilities would have to be divided. Allnutt himself anticipates the change as early as 1890:

If I find after the opening of the new building that I cannot consistently with the interests of the work continue to retain charge of both School and College, the need of a new man to relieve me of the headship of the former will very definitely shape itself. . . . I say a 'new man,' for a glance at our present staff would show that there is no one of our present number to whom I could, consistently with his own wishes and the interests of the work, hand over the charge of the School.

He proceeds with an expression of his convictions regarding the vocation of the educational missionary which has not lost its value even for the present time, and was of peculiar significance in the missionary outlook of those days:

I am fixed, so far as my own will has anything to do with it, in my determination only to yield the charge up to one who believes he is called to educational work as his missionary vocation, and not either as a *parergon* or a temporary duty. None of us who are working here now feel this, except Wright, who is so eminently fitted for the work he now has that it would be a loss to take him away from it, and myself who *ex hypothesi*, could not continue the dual headship. Hence the need of a new man who—if convinced, as I trust at least one may soon be led to be convinced, that in educa-

tional work he can find, as I once said at Cambridge, a full scope for the exercise of the highest powers, most intense devotion, the most burning love of souls—would be able after a brief period of novitiate to take over the charge of the School; a sphere which in India presents as many elements of interests both on the so-called secular and still more on the directly spiritual and religious side as it is well possible to conceive of.

The actual transfer did not take place till 1893. As Maitland writes for that year:

The growth of the College work has made this almost necessary if the Principal was to continue his teaching work to anything like the same extent as heretofore. And it is just this teaching, this direct personal intercourse with one's pupils, that the educational missionary values most. And in the case of such a born teacher as Allnutt, with his singular gift of touching the hearts of boys and young men, any arrangement which would save him from the necessity of curtailing his actual teaching was to be welcomed. When we consider not only the great growth in the High School, since he became Principal, but the birth of the College and its expansion from a single class of three students to an institution with eighty-seven on the rolls, and courses for classes of five different years, the necessity for some rearrangement is obvious. Accordingly the principalship of the High School was gradually assumed early in the year by Kelly, [Rev. W. S. Kelly (St. John's), who had joined the Brotherhood in 1886] who is also Superintendent of our Christian Boys' Boarding House. The change was made all the smoother by the fact that the headmastership, the chief executive function, remained with Pandit Janki Nath who, as master and Headmaster, has been connected with the School longer than any of us.

Shortly after this, in July, 1893, Allnutt was struck down by typhoid fever, and was at one time thought to be dying. The anxiety elicited some remarkable testimonies to the intense affection in which he was held by his pupils, and his reception on returning restored to full health after six months' furlough, in his own words 'baffled description.'

Wright too at the same time succumbed to 'a very mild form of the same disease'; but this typhoid, due to bad drainage in the new Brotherhood House (where the cloth market now stands), had caused the College a grievous loss in the previous year, 1892. 'After a few days of typhoid,' writes Lefroy, 'the Rev. Folliott Sandford was taken to his rest on November 22nd, almost a year after his first arrival amongst us. I cannot easily tell you how severe we feel the loss to be. Though he had been with us so comparatively short a time, he had both won his way to the hearts of all his fellow-workers in a very unusual degree, and had also given promise of some of the very best and most solid qualifications for the terribly difficult work to which he had devoted his life.'

The remainder of Lefroy's tribute, and Allnutt's, to an evidently very remarkable character will be found at the end of this chapter.

The gap in the ranks of the Cambridge staff was immediately filled by B. K. Cunningham (Trinity), who had already offered to reach Delhi by October, 1893, and volunteered, directly he heard the news, to sail at once, arriving in February, 1893, and working in the College as a layman for three years. The tributes paid to his gift for friendship, at the farewell party organised by the students, when he left at the beginning of 1896, do not need to be repeated for those who are aware of what he has subsequently been to so many generations of later recruits from England. It is worth noting, however, that his was the first response to Lefroy's appeal for short service laymen in the Cambridge report of 1891:

If anyone does not see his way to leaving home permanently, but would come to us for a period of three or five years, for him, too, we can find full and useful work; while the increased knowledge of, and interest in, Indian Missions which would then gradually be brought back to English parishes would, I am sure, prove a real blessing and strength to the Home

Church. You will remember that the principle of men coming in this way has been recently accepted by the Cambridge Committee. At the same time, I should like to explain that, while we accept the responsibility for such an one coming out, we do not for his return home. This must remain in his own uncontrolled discretion, and if he finds, as I am disposed to think might possibly be the case, at the end of his proposed period, that he had taken deeper root here than he had intended, and was inclined to sit tight and hold on, he must not blame me.

The College suffered another very heavy loss in 1894, by the death of the Rev. A. Maitland. He had first come to Delhi in 1876, while on a health-trip, and was so drawn to both the place and the work that he revisited it more than once, and eventually joined the Mission permanently in 1880, being ordained later. After Mrs. Winter's death in 1881, he devoted himself particularly to affording companionship to Mr. Winter, and it was only when the latter died in 1891, and Wright went on furlough that he began to teach in the College. He threw himself with characteristic thoroughness and devotion into the work which he took up, chiefly with the B.A. and M.A. classes, and 'though the School was the scene of his chief activity,' writes Allnutt, 'I am convinced that he was naturally better fitted to deal with young men than boys. . . . Often coming somewhat jaded from the school work, he would throw himself with revived energy into his M.A. work—no easy task on a hot summer's morning, after three hours' teaching at school—with the natural result that his pupils caught the infection and eagerly responded to his zealous efforts on their behalf.'

In October, 1891, he married Miss Boyd, one of the lady workers of the Mission, and their home in the house which still bears his name, became the centre of much friendly and loving intercourse both for Christians and many others, especially Hindu pupils from the School and College, while

again and again in cases of illness of other members of the Mission staff its doors were open, either as hospital or convalescent house or both. His always weak health did not benefit as much as had been hoped from a trip to Australia, in the autumn of 1893, and an attack of lung trouble in July, 1894, rapidly developed into pneumonia and phthisis, from which he died on July 22nd. As the students of the College wrote in their letter of condolence to his father, 'in the words of our Professor Wright his life may be described as "one continuous self-sacrifice."' They perpetuated their appreciation in the memorial portrait which still hangs in the hall, its unveiling in February, 1895, being the occasion of a very striking address by Lefroy (his closest friend since school days at Marlborough) and of a spontaneous and very courageous declaration by one of the recent graduates, that in face of what all present had learnt from Maitland's life, they would sooner or later have to make up their minds whether they would choose to follow Christ or not. His colleagues' feelings were thus expressed by Lefroy:

> His example of single-eyed devotion to his Master's service, of unsparing self-denial, and of a tenderness and power of deep sympathy, such as it would be hard to equal, was a supremely inspiring one while it was granted to us; and I hope his life was not given to us in vain.

Some further indication of his character will be found at the end of this chapter. His house was acquired by the College as a staff-residence in 1904, and both the College and the Mission have been enriched by endowments given by himself or by his widow, who died in 1930.

Besides Cunningham's short service term, the College had during these years the temporary help of two other missionaries; the Rev. C. Foxley (St. John's), who came out for two and a half years, in the autumn of 1893, 'rendered efficient service in the College during Allnut's absence,' and then

relieved Kelley at the School; and the Rev. G. A. Purton (Clare), who arrived in January, 1896, just in time to take Cunningham's place as assistant lecturer in English and History, but was relieved for school work in November by the arrival of the Rev. R. B. Westcott (Trinity), as a permanent member of the staff. There was one other recruit from England before the actual conclusion of Allnut's régime, the Rev. G. Hibbert-Ware (St. John's), who arrived in the autumn of 1898.

On the Indian side some changes have already been mentioned. Dutt[1] resigned in 1891 to join Queen's College, Benares, and his post as Mathematical Professor was taken by P. C. Mukerjee, whose duties as Professor of Natural Science were assumed by Samuel Yesudasan Martyn,[2] one of Dr.

[1] The following details of his career have been kindly supplied by his brother, P. N. Dutt, Esq., Registrar of the Punjab University:

Born in 1857, son of the Rev. K. N. Dutt, Headmaster of London Mission School, Benares. His career at School and College was brilliant, and he stood first in all examinations. Mathematics was his *forte*, and he became a Fellow of the London Mathematical Society in 1885, an honour held at that time by one other Indian gentleman in India. He started work as headmaster in Jubbulpur at the age of 21, and was afterwards appointed to St. Stephen's College, where he taught not only Mathematics but also Political Economy and helped in the work of the School. In 1891, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in Queen's College, Benares, serving some time as Professor and some time as Headmaster of a large Government High School for fourteen years. Afterwards he was appointed Inspector of Schools, and continued as such till he retired in 1912. All the time of his service, wherever he was, in spite of his intellectual achievements, he was humble and a friend to all. He took a special interest in his students, many of whom are now holding positions of trust and responsibility in various walks of life. He died in 1918.

[2] The differentiation in pay between Christian and non-Christian 'professors' in those days is noteworthy: just as Dutt had been on Rs. 250 per month against N. G. Bose's Rs. 150, so Mukerjee dropped, according to the Mission Council Minutes, from Rs. 150 to Rs. 125 on transferring (at his own request) from Science to Mathematics, while Martyn was appointed on Rs. 230 per month. Wright's sense of justice, as will be seen (p. 83), revolted against such distinctions, and Rudra, as Principal, took early steps to have them abolished (p. 123).

Miller's pupils from the Madras Christian College. Mukerjee resumed that subject when Martyn retired in 1906.

In 1893 Pandit Vihari Prasad Dube was replaced by Pandit Paras Nath Lahiri (on Rs. 75), and in the same year B. Man Mohan Bose took on Allnutt's Philosophy during his absence. The reversal in November of a Mission Council minute of February to the effect that 'in consequence of the immediate arrival of Mr. Cunningham from England, the appointment of Babu M. M. Bose to the College was rendered unnecessary,' was no doubt due to Cunningham's famous discovery, on his voyage out, that he could not become a philosopher at short notice! Philosophy had to be provided for temporarily again in 1897, as already noticed, by the appointment of 'a Christian named Barada Kanta Mukharji,' and there was a similar appointment of a Babu Hari Das Mukerji in 1898. Rudra, to whom frequent appreciative reference is made in the annual reports, was in 1891 appointed Superintendent of 'the boarding house for junior Christian students attached to the new College.' (Incidentally it might be noted that the upper storey of his house in the present main hostel compound was only added in 1896.) Alluding to Mrs. Rudra's death in 1896, Wright records, 'Our sense of Professor Rudra's value to us in every way has only been deepened by his recent heavy loss and the way in which he has borne it.' One other well-known name comes on to the staff-list in May, 1898, Abinash Chander Ghose (or rather Samuel Ghose since his ordination in 1896), his subject being Philosophy in the Intermediate classes. He was the first old student of the College to join the staff.

NOTE A

Folliott Sandford

(From the *15th Report of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi*)

I think two of the qualities in him which struck us most were, first, a supreme loyalty to truth and an invincible confidence in its final triumph, which made him fearless in facing criticism or speculation from whatever quarter and which, if it sometimes seemed to us almost too ready in accepting new positions and perhaps unproved conclusions, was yet of immense value in enabling him to appreciate and sympathise with the thoughts of men of other creeds and nationalities. Then with this there was an intense chivalry, a hatred of oppression in any form, and an eager championship of the weak which took him straight to the heart of almost every Indian, Christian or non-Christian, with whom he came in contact, and made him also an example of the highest value, and much needed, I fear, for us who worked with him. He often thought, and often very likely not without cause, our attitude towards, and criticism of, the natives very hard; and the fearless way in which, though the youngest member of the band, he was always ready to take up the cudgels in behalf of anyone who was being run down, and that in a way which could never cause the shadow of ill-feeling, while it often afforded us a good laugh, went also, I hope and believe, far deeper, and tended to form in us in a variety of ways a more tender, loving and sympathetic spirit. . . . Just before leaving England to join us he wrote: 'It may seem presumptuous on my part to say so, but even if I were to die as soon as I landed, it might be that my life would not have been wasted; since I think it would help some to realise that the service of Christ does demand the self-surrender of all that we have to offer.'

And that the life was not wasted I am perfectly certain. Sandford is the first of the band who has been taken away while actually at work. What the exact method of working—the connection between the life laid down and the work advanced—is in such cases I suppose we cannot know. One just recognises the operation of the great central law of our

faith. 'If a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it beareth much fruit.'

G. A. LEFROY.

The extreme diffidence, almost amounting at times to morbid self-distrust, which so markedly characterised him, made one at first slow to recognise the very rare qualities which he possessed for the work of a teacher. . . . He was reluctant often to take up the work assigned to him, but when he had once undertaken it, nothing could surpass the care which he bestowed on it. The way he taught too was quite characteristic of the man. He made his pupils *feel* what he taught them. His intense affectionateness was allowed full play, and I know drew the men out and warmed their hearts towards him. The resolutions of sympathy which they sent to his parents were, I am sure, thoroughly sincere and real. Their wish to be allowed to draw the hearse at least part of the way to the cemetery was another proof of the way he had won their affection. . . . It is a very rare and beautiful spirit that has gone from us, and we are both richer and poorer for the loss; richer, for he has left us a most stimulating memory; poor, I need not say why.

S. S. ALLNUTT.

NOTE B

ALEXANDER CHARLES MAITLAND

(From the *Delhi Mission News*, No. 1, January, 1895)

It is not so easy to estimate what made the life so beautiful, but a few points may be noticed. There was first, and most noticeable of all, an intense power of sympathy, tenderness and affection such as is rarely found amongst men and which, coupled in very high degree with that inexplicable charm of personal manner and attractive power which is given to some few, instinctively drew hearts to him and made his circle of real friends unusually large. . . . But together with this almost womanly tenderness there was an indomitable strength of will and vigour of purpose which revealed itself to those who knew him best. It came out in many ways. His accurate and thorough execution of any piece



JOHN WRIGHT, *Second Principal*

of work he undertook, however comparatively trivial it might be, was a lesson to all his fellow-workers, although at times one was tempted to think that in such respects his conscientiousness was almost excessive. The simplicity of his personal life—though he was possessed of ample means—was extreme. He never used, for himself alone, a *punkah* by day or night, was a rigid teetotaller, and in a variety of ways put to shame many of those who, with far less excuse on the ground of natural weakness, or with health to plead, were yet unable to imitate him in such respects. His fearlessness of death was, as might be supposed, entire.

CHAPTER VII

JOHN WRIGHT

THE year 1898 closed with a momentous change for the College. Allnutt, with characteristic self-effacement, had come to feel that it was time that the principalship should pass into younger hands. He proposed to devote himself to relieving the head of the Mission in various departments and to apply himself to his long-deferred dream of a special study of Sanskrit and of Hinduism, hoping thus to complement Lefroy's work among Muhammadans. After fullest consultation between him and Lefroy, the Head, the step was approved; and on Wright's return in December, fully restored to health by his furlough (a severe illness in the autumn of 1897 had compelled him to anticipate its due date by a year), he was appointed to assume the principalship with the opening of the New Year.

Allnutt's resignation of course elicited the most sincere and widespread expressions of regret and of appreciation of all that he had been, and done, for so many generations of students. A gathering of his old pupils in the Town Hall on the last day of the year presented him with an address in which they warmly acknowledged not only their own debt to him, but also the benefit he had conferred upon the city of Delhi by the establishment of the College. The Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, Mr. Sime, and the Senate of the University alike expressed their high appreciation of the great assistance he had rendered to the Education

Department and the University. And the Cambridge Committee, in its annual report, referring to the College as 'the most striking visible result of the settlement of the Cambridge Brotherhood at Delhi,' recorded that 'the task of building it up morally and materially, from the earliest beginnings of the undertaking, eighteen years ago, devolved primarily upon him; and he has guided it with eminent success as its first principal.' Mr. Cecil Martin's biography, *Allnutt of Delhi*, particularly his chapter on 'The Missionary as Educationalist,' removes the necessity for any further estimate here of Allnutt's work in this sphere. His dreams of a scholar's life, however, were never to be fulfilled, for in a few months the death of Bishop Matthew of Lahore and the selection of Lefroy as his successor involved Allnutt in the duties of the headship of the Mission, which he held till his death in 1917.

Wright inherited a situation which, discouraging to many, was to his temperament probably as stimulating a start as he could have wished for. Allnutt had reported for 1897–8 a greatly reduced number of students and consequent financial anxiety: indeed the College was for the first time working at a loss, there being a monthly deficit of about Rs. 75. The primary cause of this drop in numbers was the tightening up of promotion rules already mentioned, but within Wright's first year of office another cause was added, namely the opening of the Hindu College. Wright remarks in his first report, 'The attraction of lower fees and more elastic discipline is likely, I fear, to prove too strong for weaker spirits,' and then adds, characteristically, 'Our outlook, however, strikes me as being hopeful and promising and a great advance on former years.'

A letter of May, 1900, to the Cambridge Committee proclaims the faith that is in him more explicitly:

Our numbers continue comparatively small. . . . If our quantity is less, it is consoling to feel that our quality is

higher. Of that I have very little doubt, and I believe that we must look for advance in this direction.

I feel strongly that alike individual colleges and the University will best consult the interests of the student class and the country at large by steadily raising the standard both of discipline and learning. From this point of view our decreased numbers are an advantage. The general standard and tone is raised, and each individual student counts for more, and receives more care and attention.

As in days gone by, the testimonies we receive from time to time from competent judges as to the impress left upon the students by their College career, as well as their own feelings with regard to it, are very encouraging. My own confidence in the part which our play-ground has in developing character, and helping us to realise more of a common life and common interests, is unabated. It is to me a shadow which coming events cast before them. . . . (I wish sometimes those same events would help us to a little more shadow when we get the full benefit of the westering sun, and are compelled to pitch our stumps north and south, instead of, as would in some ways suit the ground better, east and west).

I have spoken of the advantageous aspect of our decreased numbers. The corresponding disadvantage is that we have suffered a diminution of income during the last year amounting to over a thousand rupees, or about £80, and are at present working at a slight loss. Fortunately, we have a balance to fall back upon, which I hope may be sufficient to tide us over the crisis. I should not find it easy to put into words my sense of the possibilities which lie before higher education in the Punjab, more particularly that part of it which is distinctly Christian. But it would seem that one essential to the highest success possible is to set one's face sternly against the merely commercial view of education which prevails widely, and to help the student to realise that when he joins a college he becomes a member of a body politic, whose welfare is his welfare and its life his life; also that he cannot dictate terms to his teachers, but must be ready to do what he is told and work often at what does not seem to serve his immediate purpose. All good work tends to secure this more and more. I believe the College has a very great future before it and I humbly pray God that I may be

enabled to play such part in its development as is according to His will.

The allusion to 'dictating terms' is also made by Westcott in the same report:

It is a shock to find that the students seem clearly to think that they know how a college should be worked better than those in authority. Only a few days back I was talking with some students who seemed certain that the College was being ruined. I pointed out to them that in the last two years we had the best results of any college in the Province; but this was only a fact, and could not be allowed any weight against their opinion that we had done very badly this year; though the results will not be out for some three or four weeks! Their idea is that the one thing needful is to get up the set books; for a knowledge of the subject they have no care; so if they do not have every allusion fully explained, that they may learn all off by heart, they fancy that they get no good from the College. I trust that I shall not be misunderstood; we are doing good to our students, good that they are scarcely conscious of; but it is, I think, a little disappointing that our students should run down their college and praise up other colleges, when there is no ground for such an opinion, the only facts that can be adduced being all in our favour, . . . not only the University results but the high esteem in which our old students are held afterwards by their superior officers. . . .

The work is a happy one, but at times the difficulty of understanding and of making oneself understood renders it hard, very hard. . . . We do see some results, but the difficulties are so many and so great that one is sorely tempted to think that it is all to no purpose; which I do not for a moment believe. Upon one thing, I am sure, we should all be agreed; if the work is to be done it must be done well.

And well done it was, though not along the course he had proposed. Just four months later (on August 1st, 1900) Westcott died of cholera, directly attributable to what one of his colleagues calls 'his invariable determination to do kind acts at whatever cost to himself'; in this case in the service of

the British soldiers in the Fort, several of whom had been struck down by the epidemic then prevailing, and to whom he was ministering as acting Chaplain. Not the least of the gifts made to India by his father, Dr. Westcott, his work in the College is described in the memoir written by his closest friend, Rudra, which is appended to this chapter. Of the unique character of that friendship with Rudra, Allnutt writes:

I doubt whether during the early part of his career in India he would have been able, in view of the almost abnormal sensitiveness which characterised him, joined with the intense yearning he had for the response of heart to heart, . . . to hold out against all the trials and disappointments of his life and work here, had it not been for the constant solace and support which that friendship afforded him. Such a friendship is a God-given *charisma*!

The events of Wright's all too short régime cannot be better recorded than in the words of his own prize-giving reports, giving as they do not merely facts and figures, but also something of the man himself and of what his personality contributed to the tradition of the College. Here then is a condensation of the report he read in February, 1901, when Bishop Lefroy was presiding:

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

. . . In all unworthiness we would stamp anew ourselves and all our work with those great words which stand on the forefront of our building *Ad Dei gloriam*—and would let our foundation stone once again remind us of motives and object—'To the glory of God and the promotion of sound learning and religious education.' . . .

The keynote of what I put before you in this report, will, I am sure, in so far as my words at all represent my thoughts and principles, be *fellowship*. . . .

If I understand education in any form aright, this is the aspect of it before which all others sink into insignificance; the idea, I mean, of a common society with common life,

common hopes, common aims, common traditions; a tone, a character, joys, sorrows, an atmosphere of its own. . . . Even though I should not live to see a resident university founded in this Province, with a basis as distinctly religious as our own great English foundations, I shall never cease to hope and believe that every year's and every day's work done in this College may tend to bring that ideal nearer, and make it more possible as a reality in our midst. . . .

Mr. Basil Westcott's place as Professor of History . . . is occupied by Mr. Caleb, a graduate of Allahabad University. . . . Our staff has been strengthened too by the addition of Professor Chaki,[1] who developes our scientific side, and came to us with a high reputation from Calcutta. I will not attempt to disguise the fact that I am, and expect increasingly to be, proud of my staff.

Enumerating the University successes for the past year, he remarks, 'These may be regarded as on the whole respectable results,' and proceeds:

To pass to our numerical and financial position. I told you last year that our numbers had been considerably reduced and that we were working at a financial loss. Our position today is the same, only more so. In February last we had 63 students on our rolls; now we have 56. The reasons for this are the same as I stated last year—an enforcement of discipline inside, and (as I believe every well-informed critic must hold) an unsound and short-sighted cheapening of 'so-called' education outside these walls. *Magna est veritas et praevalebit.* In this case I cannot doubt that we are the well at the bottom of which truth lies. It only asks time to come to the top. We must add to the large deficit of which I spoke last year another Rs. 500 per annum which that drop of seven students represents; and I foresee that we may and most likely shall have to face a further drop next year, and for some years to come. The Government College, Lahore, is in a similar position. . . . It is interest-

[1] He replaced a Mr. C. H. Jonah who had been acting since January, 1899 in place of Mr. Martyn who had gone to Edinburgh to take his degree there. Chaki resigned in May, 1901, and one, Abdul Majid, was appointed, presumably till Martyn's return in 1902.

ing to notice where the drop comes—in the Intermediate classes, especially in the second year, where the disciplinary shoe pinches.

The number of boarders . . . reached fourteen at one time during the year, the largest number, I believe, which we have ever touched. At present we number eleven. . . . One feature in our boarding house life during the year has been the opening of a common room, in connection with a club which has developed itself among the boarders.

So much for facts and figures. Perhaps they do not sound hopeful; and yet I venture to believe that we have even now arrived at that 'tide' in educational affairs which 'taken at the flood' will lead us 'on to fortune,' and not only us but many, many more with us. For, unless I strangely misread the signs of the times, college (not to say school) education has come up to that parting of the ways where it shall be decided whether a university—or what stands for it—shall turn out selfish, shallow, subtle, smug sciolists (you observe that the depth of my feelings finds vent in alliteration), utterly determined to advance their own personal and family interest, even *si fractus illabatur orbis*, or men with consciences and souls and minds and bodies who shall—having breathed it for some of the most important and impressionable years of their lives, and learned how it tends to life—help to diffuse a more breathable and less stiffling atmosphere.

The University results of those years quite justify the aim and claim of 'quality rather than quantity': the two M.A.'s of 1899 were first and second in their subject (English) in the Punjab, the former being a subsequently well-known scholar, Joel Waiz Lall; while several first places in the University were gained in 1900, as well as a gold medal for Sanskrit and a University scholarship.

Incidentally, Wright makes a characteristic comment on the 'grace-marks' that Allnutt had with such good reason fought for in the earliest years. . . .

The idea is that it is hard upon a student that he should fail in only one subject by a few marks; so to avoid this, in case any student fails in only one subject by five marks or less,

the examiner is requested to look over his papers again, and if possible add on the necessary number of marks. It is to my mind a proceeding as oriental as inconvenient and undesirable, and unless better reasons can be adduced for it than I have yet heard, I hope to campaign against it vigorously in the near future.

The following are the more salient passages in the report at the prize-giving of February, 1902:

Our numbers this time last year were 55. They are now 66; so that instead of dropping lower, they have risen by 11. . . . I cannot yet say whether this means that the tide has turned and we command confidence. Our methods will remain the same whether we do or do not. We must *deserve* confidence; we cannot *command* it. . . .

The boarding house over the way has been continuing to do excellent work in connection with which Mr. Rudra's name should be honourably mentioned. The number has kept steadily at 13, rising once to 14; and we are forced to contemplate enlargement, of which, when it becomes absolutely necessary and has been duly matured, you shall receive further notice! I cannot over-estimate what I take to be the value of the boarding house to the larger life of the College. Increased numbers mean increased income. Our income from fees during the past year has been roughly Rs. 5,000, about Rs. 450 more than last year. With this and the Government grant of Rs. 450 and the Municipal grant of Rs. 100, and the S.P.G. grant of some Rs. 150, we manage to pay our way, though I clearly see that for the efficient working of the College there must be various developments involving considerable expense in the future. These we must, when the time comes, endeavour with fortitude to meet.

Some interesing comments accompany the enumeration of the University results for 1901:

In the Intermediate, 15 went up, of whom 10 passed, probably more than in strict justice deserved to do so: probably also quite as many as was good either for the prestige and honour of the University, or for the morals

of the competitors. . . . This was the first time in the annals of the College that a first class was achieved in the B.A. and I congratulate Shibbu Mal[1] very heartily on the distinction he has won for himself and his College.

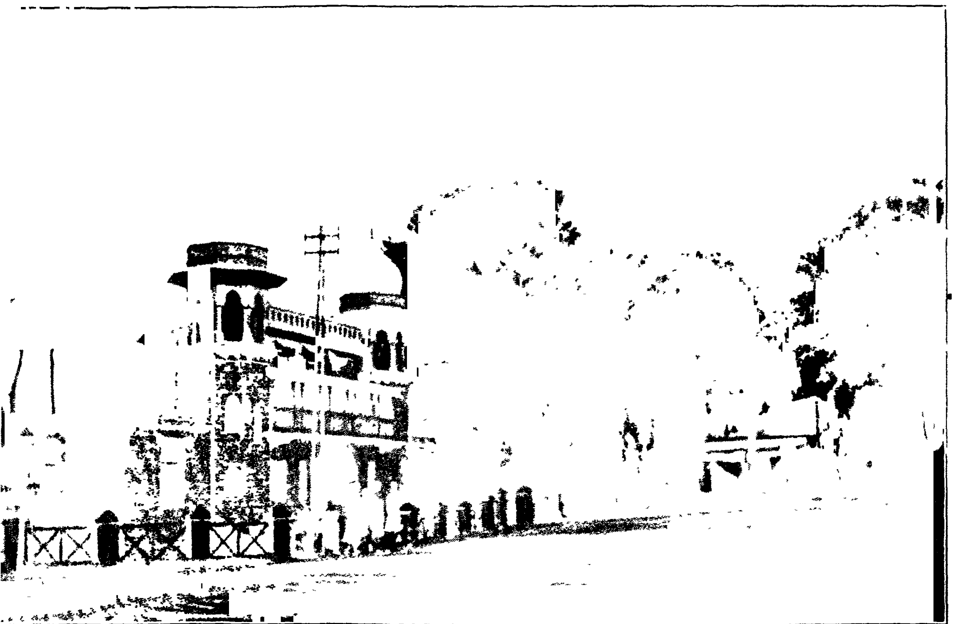
There is an allusion, too, to Har Dayal, a uniquely brilliant student with a tragic later history in the national life who, at this stage, stood first in the Intermediate in the Province and was the holder of two public scholarships and a Sanskrit medal.

Attention is also drawn to two Allnutt Memorial Prizes, endowed by old students, and there is the inevitable reference to games: 'Our playground too has been doing its work, or some of it. Our Cricket XI in the tournament at Lahore lost (shall I say narrowly?) both the shield and its temper, i.e. of the eleven, not the shield: but very nearly won the first, i.e. the shield, in which case doubtless, it would have kept the second, i.e. its temper. I admit that the provocation was strong.'

In staffing, Mr. Martyn's return is noted after an absence of three and a half years at Edinburgh, where he took the B.Sc. degree, and 'Pandit Paras Nath Lahiri left us nearly a year ago, for an appointment in Rangoon, and was succeeded in the Sanskrit chair by Pandit Raghbar Dayal, who, after taking his M.A. in Sanskrit from the College, passed the Sastri examination of Benares. He was the second old student of the College on the staff, the other being Ghose. A third was added in May by the appointment of Khub Ram as Assistant Professor of Science and Mathematics.

'I clearly see', Wright had announced on this occasion, 'that for the efficient working of the College there must be various developments.' At the end of June he embodied his proposals in a lengthy letter to Professor Stanton, the Chairman of the Cambridge Committee. Three months later he

[1] Now District and Sessions Judge, Gurdaspur.



The Main Hostel

was dead, so that the document practically constitutes his last will and testament in respect of the work to which he gave his life, and it is so significant of the whole subsequent policy of the College that the greater part of it deserves to be reproduced:

The time seems to have come when I owe it to you and to our authorities at Cambridge to represent somewhat more clearly than I have ever done as yet what I conceive to be the outlook and needs of missionary higher education as represented by our College in this place.

Frankly recognising that it will involve considerable expense, he goes on to point out two important defects in the existing Government system of higher education . . . (1) in regarding the University, or College, as a merely examining body, without any idea of residence and all which that word involves; (2) in holding out Government service, or employment of some kind, as the bait by means of which to attract students, and in fixing the standard of fees and expense generally at a scale adapted to the classes likely to be so attracted.

However wise or even necessary this may have been in the past, I believe the time is at hand when we may aim at something more worthy and more in accordance with our English notions and traditions of a University or College.

Admitting that it is likely to be a work of time, he notes two main impediments which are likely to deter the parents or guardians in such a city as Delhi from embracing any opportunities which may be offered for such an education: first, poverty, or at least slender means, especially among the Muhammadan community; and secondly, an inability to appreciate any education which has not an obviously commercial value. This second cause is no doubt in measure due to the first. . . . But Delhi as a city is so demoralised that I am inclined to believe that our best chance lies with the lads whom we get from the villages and towns of the district. They are undoubtedly better material to start with, and we

have the shaping of them more in our own hands in the boarding house than we could ever hope to have in the case of students who live in Delhi. This brings me to our first financial need—

And he proceeds to explain his plans for expansion of the boarding house—

For the present, if we secure the land, I propose to build what would accommodate 50 students. We already have students residing in the boarding house who have come to it from their homes in the city; and I believe the number of such would increase. As it is, some 15 boarders are the mainspring, or something very like it, of the College; and if we substituted by degrees 50 for 15 it would, I believe, gradually alter the whole tone and character of our work. My idea is to fix a standard of living, including games, social culture and the like which would ask an outlay of some Rs. 20 at least a month, and would make it easier for us to secure the class of student at whom, as I believe, in the main we ought to aim, and who is already to some extent forthcoming.

The residential ideal which the College has cherished ever since could not be put more clearly. In his next point, staffing principles, he is equally prophetic:

Another direction in which we must hope to develop, and which means increased expenditure, is the enlargement of our teaching staff where necessary, and the taking steps, so far as it can be done, to make and keep that staff constant. At present the constant element in any educational institution is small. In our own College we have been fortunate in having suffered less from such changes perhaps than others, though that is not saying much. And here I desire to state as strongly as I can my belief, which surely all experience supports, that you must always pay a good price for a good article.

After noting the adequate staff maintained in the Government College and the Forman Christian College at Lahore, he proceeds:

Our staff at present consists of two Englishmen who are responsible for all the English teaching and Philosophy in the M.A. and B.A. classes, and one of them (the Principal) for all the business of the College, though in this I gladly acknowledge the great help which I receive from Professor Rudra who holds the rather imperfectly defined position of Vice-Principal.

He then alludes to the 'surprise and annoyance' with which he realised the discrepancy between Rudra's salary and Martyn's, and the steps he took to get the former levelled up. Coming later to Mukerji's position, he anticipates the necessity of doing the same for him: and again in considering the Oriental professors and the inadequacy of 'vernacular' men, he aims at providing Persian and Arabic with men who could teach through the medium of English, as had already been done for Sanskrit, and raising all such salaries to Rs. 200 a month. It is not, however, the figures of these salaries but the principles on which he bases them that are the important and, for those days, very significant points:

If we pay low salaries we must be prepared, I think, when we have to some extent trained and educated valuable men, to lose them to better paid posts, to the great detriment of all work. I believe that the really sound plan would be to pay at exactly the same rate as a Government College, pensions included. The saving on a Government College would come in over the salaries of English missionaries, a very considerable saving; and if at any time Indian professors should appear who felt able and willing to serve on the same terms this would still further emphasise the missionary position. But it appears to me obvious that if you are looking for a really high-class, well educated Indian you must pay accordingly, or expect work to suffer seriously.

Again *à propos* of Mukerji's position:

I must confess personally to a very strong feeling of repugnance to paying Christians more than non-Christians . . . my sense of justice revolts against the one being paid more highly than the other simply because he is a scarcer article

in the educational market. I should greatly prefer to see a fixed and liberal salary assigned to each post as such, regardless of religious qualifications or disqualifications. The opposite system surely tends to make a non-Christian professor's position (no easy one at best) more difficult and invidious than it need be.

On the more general outlook it would seem from the report of the Lindsay Commission that the following passages, though written thirty years ago, have still some pertinence:

I would wish to record it as my very deep conviction that Englishmen and Indians alike should devote themselves almost exclusively to this work, regarding it, if possible, as a life-work; treating anything else entirely as a by-work, and sitting very lightly to it. . . . I believe that if such work as we attempt in our College is to be satisfactorily done we ought to have Cambridge men as Principal and professors of Science, History and Philosophy *at least*; putting in most, if not all, of their spare time in the playground, the boarding house, and, though last, not least, *reading*, which, I may remark in passing, would be productive of good not only in the College but also in the community and such society generally as is fitted to profit by it. . . .

As time goes on I hope to feel a need which seems to have forced itself already upon my colleagues in Lahore, viz. something in the form of an Honours Course, which will give the more intelligent student a chance; and to this end we certainly need to relieve one professor of the drudgery of educating a mixed mass, most of whom can only be styled students by courtesy. . . . At least one more item of expenditure must be contemplated, a really good and worthy professor's room, together with a library and reading room and debating hall for the students.

If the College is to face the difficulties which it will have to face, and to supply not the cheap and shoddy education, which at present the country in its short-sighted haste would prefer, but the real article which must justify itself in the long run, I must needs regard such developments as I have indicated as essential; and in course of time such terms as higher education, university, college, degree, etc., would

come to have an altogether different connotation: life for both teacher and taught would become an infinitely more valuable and attractive thing, and one more opportunity, perhaps the most natural and hopeful and possible, would be given to East and West of really understanding each other.

In conclusion, I hope I have succeeded in some measure at least in making my meaning clear. We constantly speak of our educational, and especially our higher educational, work in Delhi as being of paramount importance. We must recognise clearly that as it now exists it is under-manned, and underpaid, and like other branches of missionary work, in danger in consequence, of adopting a cheap and so-to-speak jerry-building policy which would prove absolutely fatal. It does no doubt sometimes seem to all concerned to be like Nero fiddling when Rome was burning, for missionaries to be teaching secular subjects and playing cricket and football. But if it is to be done at all, and we have practically settled that question, it must be done thoroughly; and were I myself a Director of Public Instruction in any Province of this country, I should rigidly insist that if missionaries undertook educational work they must be prepared to carry it out up to the Government standard. . . . At present I imagine our expenditure on purely educational work, with the exception of missionary salaries, is less than that on any department of work. Given adequate fees and an adequate number of students, no doubt such work should be largely self-supporting; but it is a long way off that yet, if we are to aim at supplying the genuine article, and so creating a demand for it.

At the beginning of September, 1902, when he was about to join Bishop Lefroy, on a walking tour in the Hills, Wright was attacked by the internal trouble from which he had already frequently suffered. As usual, however, he refused to be diverted from his plans, and insisted not only on going up to Dalhousie, but also on riding the last part of the journey instead of taking a *doolie*. He arrived quite prostrated, and though under the care of friends an improvement seemed at first to show itself, he rapidly grew worse and died on

September 25th. With that love of providing for the future, which was one of his characteristics, he had some years before reserved a plot for himself in the Mission cemetery in Delhi, but again his plans were not fulfilled and his grave is in Dalhousie.

He had served in the College for just on 19 years and for 3½ years was its Principal. A comparison with Allnutt's régime is inevitable. This is how it struck Rudra:

Mr. Allnutt has given the College a local habitation and a name, and in doing so ministered to a great popular need and found a most excellent channel for the energies of Christian Cambridge men to bring the best truth they know to the better classes of the people here. But an equally difficult, if not, in some ways, a harder task, fell to the lot of Mr. Wright, the second Principal of the College. He was destined to rescue the College from the demand that arose that it should relax discipline and become a shop for vending instruction for acquiring university degrees on the easiest terms dictated by students.

The Hindu College came into existence simultaneously with the assumption of the principalship by Mr. Wright; and Mr. Wright had to battle hard to maintain his ideas both about what a College ought to be, and what sort of life it ought to promote, not to mention for what classes of people it ought to exist. Mr. Allnutt had to do all he did as he went on and as opportunities developed. But Mr. Wright brought to bear on his work as Principal deep convictions he had formed during his 15 years of tutorship in the College. His régime, all too brief though it was, cannot but have a lasting effect on the further development of the College.

Another colleague (Cunningham) thus contrasts the two principalships:

In contrast with the régime of John Wright . . . the time of Allnutt was as democracy compared with splendid monarchy; for, though Allnutt could be severe, his aim was to associate the College and more especially the College staff, both Christian and non-Christian, in all that he did. The staff-meetings were instituted in his time and reforms or

proposed changes of method or discipline were discussed beforehand . . . the staff was made to feel that they were not merely paid agents but sharers in the government of the College and had correspondingly a real responsibility for its good name. At the time, however, the step taken was a bold one and it was characteristic of the Principal.

As the above impression is printed in the biography of Allnutt, it is only fair to Wright's memory that Rudra's testimony to Wright's equal insistence on the 'team' ideal (so familiar in Rudra's own later verbal reminiscences) should be also recorded:

This notice would be most inadequate were I to omit mention of his longing to get hold of all the tutors on the staff and make them feel that they were a united body existing for the purpose of cultivating one another's society, stimulating intellectual interests, pursuing some definite course of study and bringing all the good they were privileged thus to acquire for the benefit of the students who came to the College. This was the root idea in all that he was trying to achieve for the College. He advocated liberal salaries to secure an efficient permanent staff, and hoped that the members of the staff, by their hospitality and culture, would create an atmosphere for the students so bracing that they would be permanently influenced for good. Mr. Wright was so hospitable and generous himself, so fond of indoor and outdoor games, and every kind of healthy amusement, that he did succeed in drawing his staff together in a wonderful manner and giving it a corporate feeling. The practical outcome of it was that he got his staff to share with him in the institution of the reunion of the old students of the College on the last day of the year, when the Principal and professors act as hosts together.

Of the 'special achievements' of Wright, Rudra's impressions also deserve preservation. The Shakespeare Reading Society was his creation. 'The attendance in the early days was fitful, and anyone but the robust originator would have abandoned the project . . . to-day (1902) the *drama* is a

permanent feature of College life.' Still more were the athletics his creation:

Mr. Wright's intense sympathy for young men led him to devise some method to break into the listless, pathetic, isolated lives that his pupils seemed determined to live. Mr. Allnutt tried to capture and interest young men by starting intellectual interests and forming the Star of Delhi Club, the parent of numerous such clubs now flourishing in the city.

But Mr. Wright tried the difficult task of rousing the athletic side latent in youth. It was and still is very latent in the Delhi youth, but the preliminary steps have been taken. A large playground has been acquired and fenced in, a pavilion[1] built, and the whole made as attractive as possible. Three acres of well-kept grass, immediately outside the grey historic city walls, with the Nicholson Gardens beyond, is a pleasure to the eye. During term-time, evening by evening, nearly a third of the College and a fair portion of the staff are to be found taking their exercise—cricket, football or hockey, or in a milder form tennis.[2] The Indian student does not appreciate social games. He likes his solitary walk or his dumb-bell exercise. But with a true instinct, Mr. Wright held this was unnatural, and all that was necessary was to take him out of his unnatural groove by sheer perseverance, and success was bound to follow. Mr. Wright's promotion of athletics was interesting to watch. He did not like coercion. He wanted the students to act for themselves. This is what he held very strongly. But the vexation of the business was that he had to coerce at times, and had to scatter to the winds his theoretical position. But the manner

[1] A tablet in the Pavilion bears the following inscription:

ERECTED BY
THE REVEREND JOHN W. T. WRIGHT,
PRINCIPAL, ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE, DELHI,
WITH THE AID OF FUNDS RAISED FROM FRIENDS AND FROM
SOME OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND
1899

[2] Westcott reported in 1898, 'The Tennis Club is in a very flourishing condition. Owing to Mr. Rudra's influence nearly all the First Year students joined either the tennis or the cricket club or both.' But this seems the first explicit reference to football and hockey.

of his coercion was such that he could not be persuaded to see or admit it was coercion. . . . I believe Mr. Wright has instilled somewhere in the College the notion that the playground interests are of supreme importance, and that the best manhood can be developed there.

Rudra writes:

As a Lecturer, he was not in the least liked by the students. He read the classical English authors with his pupils, but he would not give them notes, digests, summaries or criticisms. In fact he did not care to prepare them or coach them for examinations. He was, however, most anxious to stimulate their interests in life and its great drama . . . I have heard some of our best graduates say how much they had learned from him. . . . His pupils liked him because of the original and unexpected remarks he would make, which were amusing, though at times caustic. The manner of the man, his heartiness, cheeriness, straightness and downrightness went a long way to make even his vigorous castigation of irregularities acceptable.

In all these quotations, as in everything recorded of the man (and the anecdotes about him are innumerable) it will be recognized that it was perhaps even more what he was than what he did that still makes his influence perceptible, not only in the College, but also, as two final quotations will show, far beyond it:

One of his most remarkable qualities was his power of concentration, and this showed itself quite as much in the friendships he formed as in the objects he pursued. Whether the man was a student, a fellow-professor or a European civilian or officer, when he was once drawn to anyone and desired to make him a friend, he followed to the full the advice of Polonius and 'grappled him to his soul with hoops of steel.' The letters I received after his death bore in many cases the most pathetic testimony to the closeness of the bond which knit the writers to him and made them feel that they had lost in him the most powerful influence for good which their lives had ever received. This was the more remarkable as regards his Indian friends, as his natural bent and idiosyncracies did

not predispose him to find in them kindred spirits such as he could easily and without effort understand and sympathise with. . . . He was so intensely English in the whole bent of his character that it could not be otherwise, and for some years after he came out it was no doubt a struggle to him to feel he could honestly say he really loved any one of them. But when he became wholly convinced that a missionary career was that to which he was called, he set himself to cultivate first the acquaintance, and then the friendship, of those among them to whom he was in any way attracted; to others neither then nor afterwards did he ever profess attachment. And he had his reward. What was at first an effort became a source of the greatest happiness, and he succeeded more than any of us, with the exception perhaps of Basil Westcott, in winning the affection of many who bear witness that his was the most helpful and stimulating human influence ever brought to bear on their lives. (Allnutt.)

One word more, the very end of all his work as far as I could understand it. He believed in institutions doing great things, but absolutely believed in trying to get hold of individuals and in a very marked way he did get hold of some. Most of the Indian Christian students whom he liked and captured are marked men now, and are doing excellent work in responsible positions. Some of the non-Christians whose confidence he won were his devoted friends and cherish his memory most warmly. It is difficult to say what the influence of all this may be, but it cannot be doubted that these men will retain through life the strong impress of a devoted servant of God who struggled nobly and gave up his life for India's good. (Rudra.)

Another illuminating appreciation of John Wright by Bishop Lefroy may be found in the *Delhi Mission News* for January, 1903.

The effect of his forceful personality is one of the most noticeable things in the reminiscences of his colleagues and pupils, and tempts one to wonder how the destinies of the College might have shaped had he been spared longer to direct them. The nickname 'Downright' which some of his friends gave him, indicates what actual illustrations of that

characteristic quoted above confirm, an unwillingness to compromise or make concessions which, coupled with the admitted limitations of his temperament, might eventually have checked the development of the College and limited its usefulness. But his insistence on high standards of discipline and of teaching, and his indifference to immediate results, afforded a demonstration of the worth of 'principle,' the value of which can never be lost.

NOTE

Robert Basil Westcott: His Work in College

(From the *Delhi Mission News*, January, 1901)

The ministry of Robert Basil Westcott in our midst was a very brief one, lasting for a period of only three years and eight months. During this time, apart from the attention which the domestic life of the Brotherhood claimed, and the service of the Altar at St. Stephen's Church, all his heart was given to the youth of Delhi attending St. Stephen's College, and those who lived in the College boarding house, chiefly drawn from the District.

As a tutor in the class-room his methods were entirely English, and represented the best type of the English schoolmaster in maintaining discipline and exacting work. He was extremely particular as to the character of the work done, in almost every detail. It seemed as if nothing escaped his notice, though this was shown more by his silence and an occasional remark than in any other way.

His preparation for class was so conscientious that he was seldom able to accept invitations to dinner during term-time, or retire before midnight or close upon it. He was painstaking to a degree.

But it was not the class-room that gave him influence. In fact his methods seemed to try the youths, though they derived the greatest possible advantage from them. It was all that was done outside class that made his work invaluable. His one great aim was to convince the youths that he loved them. I am not wrong in saying this, for when we were once talking about the difficulties of Baptism, he said he had left his home in order to convince those to whom he had come

that he loved them. He would be satisfied if he could do that. 'I have come to India to love Indians.' Many people may do a great deal of good, and lasting good, for which there would be the real reward of deep gratitude, but it is an extremely difficult, if not a humanly well-nigh impossible task which this youthful and noble worker addressed himself to—to love the people of this land. Anybody who knows human nature, knows how difficult it is to love a stranger, much more is it to love an alien; and still more so for one of the ruling race really to love an Indian. The rampant masterfulness of the British, and sometimes the irrepressible scorn and disgust for the ways of the natives and their laggard passivity, and again the headlong activity of the English, are such real barriers to intercourse that the task of winning confidence and love is almost impossible. But Basil Westcott, though sometimes quietly assertive, and intensely (and naturally) patriotic, was full of generous toleration and kindly sympathy. His faith was great and his noiseless efforts were equally great. He had set his mind to achieve the humanly impossible, but the divinely possible. The toil and pain he underwent were not a little. He thoroughly believed in personal relationship, close personal relationship, and he sought every opportunity to establish it wherever he could. Boarders were going home and he was at the station to see them off. The class-lists were out and there were letters of congratulation written. Marriage of a student and there was a wedding gift ready. Any sickness and there was Mr. Westcott visiting or writing to make enquiries. A death and there was his ready condolence. He absolutely believed in the imparting of himself, rather than his gifts, though these too were numerous. In the case of boarders he would walk into the boarding house very often in the evenings, and talk to them as a friend would on current events, or tell them stories in the course of a conversation, or enliven the talk by repeating nursery-rhymes or seriously engage in playing cards. He often went out for walks with his students and interested himself in their various customs. In spite, however, of all this, it was difficult to gain confidence and win the youths. But Basil Westcott was persistent, and in some cases this persistent conduct produced some effect. He followed several youths who had left College with letters written at regular

intervals. Every fortnight or every week, and there was a letter from their English friend. Thus, and in other ways too, he strove to win those given him by the magic of personal love, that '*open sesame* that gives us eyes to see,' a faculty which he had in a remarkable degree. He constantly anticipated other people's wants, and was ever ministering to them. He has now sealed his aim by death.

S.K.R.

CHAPTER VIII

HIBBERT-WARE'S PRINCIPALSHIP—GROWTH

WRIGHT'S death reduced the missionary staff of the College to one, Hibbert-Ware. It seemed unlikely that he would be able to sustain the duties of the principalship, but Allnutt insisted that he should carry on in an acting capacity. It appears, from a strong appeal for more Cambridge men, which Rudra wrote to Professor Stanton at Allnutt's instance in November, 1902, that efforts were made to secure for the permanent post either Cunningham or the Rev. C. F. Andrews, then a Fellow of Pembroke, who had for some time contemplated joining the Mission. (This desire, says the Mission report for 1902, is to be traced back to the time of Wright's stay in Cambridge in 1891.) Neither of those, however, could accept, and at Easter, 1903, the end of the academic year, Hibbert-Ware was confirmed in the appointment. 'From the first' writes Day,[1] who joined him as a colleague in December, 1902, 'he was a conspicuous success. Gentle he certainly was, and quiet and unassuming, but he was certainly not lacking in strength. During the four years of his principalship the wheels of College life ran with the utmost smoothness; there was never anything of the nature of friction or indiscipline. And to a most remarkable extent Hibbert-Ware won the affection of the students. He had a great love for India and the Indian people, and he identified

[1] The Rev. J. G. F. Day (Trinity), now Bishop of Ossory and Ferns.



The Rev. G. Hibbert Ware, *Third Principal*

himself more completely than either of his predecessors with the daily life of the students.[1] His gentleness of manner appealed very strongly to the Indian character. Even when he had to blame or rebuke, there was no harshness or petulance or undue sternness. And his sense of humour kept breaking out in a very delightful way. The affection of the students for Hibbert-Ware showed itself in striking manner when he resigned the principalship on his departure from Delhi in 1907. I well remember the farewell gathering in the College hall, when student after student arose to express their love and gratitude to the retiring Principal, and their sorrow at his departure. One Hindu student said, I remember, that he regarded Mr. Hibbert-Ware as his *guru.*'

Under such leadership all apprehensions that public confidence might be shaken by the loss of Wright were quickly dissipated. The gap in the teaching ranks was generously filled by Purton till Day came out, his arrival being doubly opportune in the fresh stimulus he brought to the athletic side of the College. (Other staff changes at this time were the resignation early in 1903 for family reasons, of Caleb, who had been doing excellent work both in College and on the playground since Westcott's death, and the appointment in May, 1903, of P. Bose to relieve Hibbert-Ware of the Philosophy teaching. Another 'Mr. Bose from Calcutta' was appointed to 'act as professor during the absence of Professor Rudra' in 1905.) The lamentable university results in the Hindu College soon began to check the drain of students towards that institution, and though the numbers were only 47 when Hibbert-Ware took over, they had risen by the next

[1] Allnutt reports in 1904: 'Another new departure of the past year has been Hibbert-Ware's practice of spending some hours every Sunday afternoon in visiting our College students in their homes. Basil Westcott had begun to do this to some extent, but this is the first time, I think, that such visits have been systematically paid. Rudra accompanies him as a rule.

year to 84, and increasing steadily thereafter had reached 120 by the time that he retired. With this increase went of course a corresponding improvement in finances, and the university results were equally satisfactory. External educational developments, too, contributed to the improvement of affairs: the rules which, largely thanks to Wright's efforts, all the better colleges of the Punjab had mutually framed to preclude themselves from taking over each other's students in the middle of a course were now officially adopted by the University and the Government; and the College also found itself adequately prepared in most points to meet the higher standard of efficiency and discipline required by Curzon's University Reform Bill of 1904.

The one deficiency in meeting the new requirments, that of hostel accommodation had, as noted, already been engaging Wright's attention, and it was felt that nothing could perpetuate his memory more suitably than the provision of this need. Both Hibbert-Ware and Rudra had been reinforcing Wright's emphasis on the incalculable value of a residential system. An appeal was therefore issued in 1903, and though the subscriptions came in rather slowly, and the amount of land which it was at first hoped Government would concede from the adjoining Government High School playground was eventually considerably curtailed, the Wright Block was completed and full by the summer of 1904 . . . 'only just in time,' for the boarders' numbers had by now doubled to thirty, and a house had had to be hired for the overflow.

Day's observations for 1904 confirmed the anticipation of the benefits to be found in the new policy:

Two things in particular strike me. The first is the prominent part taken by boarders in the life of the College—intellectual, athletic, social. At the recent prize-giving the boarders almost swept the board. In the B.A. class, Chhotu

Ram,[1] monitor of the hostel, a most intelligent and hardworking student, won the Cambridge essay and two other prizes; while Ghulam Yazdani,[2] another boarder, won the General Proficiency and English prizes, and is *facile princeps* in Persian and Arabic. In the Second Year class all the prizes but one were won by boarders. In the playing fields the boarders are not quite so prominent, but still they are well represented; two of them are in the cricket eleven, and at football, a game in which the robuster and more fearless country lads especially shine, at least half the team is supplied by the hostel. This seems to me to be most significant. A few years ago the town-students used to look down upon the boarders, and the boarders on their part were inclined to hold aloof from the general life of the College. Now the best students from both city and country are asking for rooms in the hostel. . . . The other point I wished to mention . . . when I first came to India I was assured that students who were good at games were never any good at their books. Nobody could say this now; practically all our best students play games, and most of our good athletes are good workers too.

It is perhaps worth noting that this expansion of general residential accommodation over-rode the hopes hitherto entertained of maintaining a separate Christian hostel, and Hibbert-Ware's comment of May, 1904, adumbrates what became more and more the accepted policy of the College on the question: 'Though in past years we have probably failed to secure Christian students, because we had no separate hostel for them, yet if we can get a group of Christian students in the general boarding house, I should regard it as the best possible thing for them and the others.'

In adopting the residential ideal, the authorities were well abreast of the changes then taking place in the general conception of Indian universities. In an interesting paper

[1] Now R. B. Ch. Chhotu Ram, late Minister in the Punjab Government.

[2] Now Director-General of Archaeology, Hyderabad State.

published in the *Delhi Mission News* of January, 1905, Hibbert-Ware reviews the course of events and causes owing to which the London University model, as first adopted for Indian universities, had come to be recognised as entirely unsuited to Indian needs and conditions. Under that system the primary duty of a college was to give lectures, that of a university to give degrees: little more was contemplated. Educationally unsound, the limitation was found to be both unworkable in practice and untrue to the tradition of the country. In practice, some sort of residence had had to be provided for the increasing proportion of students coming from the district, and the conditions both under which they lived and under which they studied demanded more and more urgently some attention. Further a system of merely attending lectures without any of that personal contact between teacher and taught which was the essence of the position of the *guru*, was entirely foreign to the best Indian tradition. In all these respects University men from Oxford or Cambridge would be able to bring analogies from their own experience which would in great degree meet the needs now being revealed. The Cambridge Mission therefore found itself in a particularly advantageous position in confronting the new situation, and rejoiced to find that, with the changed official outlook inaugurated by the Universities Act, it was possible to work definitely and deliberately towards reproducing the best they had known in their own University.

To meet the opportunities, energetic efforts were at once made, as has been seen, to make St. Stephen's explicitly a residential college 'on a Christian foundation with a corporate life fully shared by all its *alumni*. Bearing in mind the staff we are likely to have to work with and the ideal of such a College, we think,' writes Hibbert-Ware, 'that 200 students is the limit that we should take in under the circumstances'; and reckoning the accommodation as now increased to 30,

he boldly states that rooms for 170 more students will be required. Social and economic causes have since combined to preclude the hope of an exclusively residential institution, but the principle of limited numbers, thus first propounded, has never since been seriously questioned by those controlling the policy of the College.

Besides provision for student residence, the new Universities Act required that the Principal and some of the professors should, as far as possible, reside in or near the College premises. This of course was equally in accordance with the outlook of Cambridge men, and circumstances just then conspired to facilitate a momentuous change in this respect, one that, indeed, cost the Brotherhood a great deal of its life, but which, in compensation, has given untold extra effectiveness to the educational service it initiated. Mrs. Maitland's house, adjoining the College boarding house, and already a centre of those invaluable social contacts which her husband and she had instituted between all members of the College, senior and junior alike, was now offered to the Mission and readily taken over, first on lease and later by purchase, as residence for the Brotherhood members of the staff. (It was now recognised, presumably thanks to Rudra's representations, that the College was entitled to three such members.) Hibbert-Ware and Day went into occupation in December, 1904, and were joined in February by F. J. Western (Trinity), who had arrived at the central home of the Brotherhood one midnight in December under circumstances that rudely broke the boasted tradition of meeting each fresh arrival in full force. He took over to start with Hibbert-Ware's philosophy teaching in the higher classes, but his versatility had soon extended itself to many other subjects and activities.

An even more notable—and versatile—recruit had arrived earlier in 1904. Andrews had reached Delhi in March and

been admitted to the Brotherhood in April, but for reasons of health he spent the summer in Simla, and only joined the College staff in October. From his Principal's point of view he seems to have been even then elusive: Hibbert-Ware writes that 'even while he was nominally a member of the staff, he never (in my time) put in a long period of steady work in College. Partly he was obliged to spend a long time in the hills, and partly he found interests outside the College which seemed to him of pressing importance. When arranging the work of the staff, we had to leave him out of account as regards essential subjects, welcoming his help when he was in a position to give it.' In effect, that is to say, he enabled the College to anticipate by nearly thirty years the recommendation of the 'Lindsay Commission' that special members of Christian College staffs should be set aside for extra-mural work.

It was hoped that Andrews would join the staff in Maitland House at Easter, 1905, but his health compelled a visit to England that summer, during which time Rudra was also on furlough there. Meanwhile, Andrews, as Bursar at the Brotherhood House, had worked a revolution in the domestic arrangements there; this was presumably prompted by the happy spirit of emulation in matters of *cuisine* and other amenities which the 'schismatics' at Maitland House at once established, but which had to be firmly restrained when Day, dining at the central house, referred to 'this branch of the Brotherhood'!

One of the immediate contributions which the 'Branch Mission House,' as it was at first called, made to the corporate life of the College was the institution by Hibbert-Ware of a daily common lunch there for all the Christian members of the staff. 'For obvious reasons,' he writes, 'the proposal had to be confined to Christians, and moreover I was convinced that our common Faith was the one thing that made the venture

likely to succeed. Perhaps only those who lived in India at that time could realise what a departure from the customs of society this venture was; for Indians and Europeans to share a meal together in the European style and in the European's house was the rarest thing. The Christian professors all welcomed the proposal. There were six of us; Rudra, Ghose, Martyn, Day, Western and myself. Ghose was Bursar, and, as a matter of fact, Mrs. Ghose kindly had the meal prepared every day and sent up to Maitland House. I have always thought that this common meal, which we kept up all the time that I was at Maitland House, was one of the factors which helped to carry us on to the new order of things and tided us over the transition period between the old and the new. Discussion was quite free at our table, and as it was a time of great political excitement, in England as well as in India, words sometimes ran high, and I may mention that it was at last one of the Indian members who begged that a rule should be made excluding political discussions as he could not bear the radical views sometimes expressed!'

Another important expansion of its buildings was forced upon the College at this period. The erection of the Wright Block (to which the upper storey, in memory of Westcott, was added in 1908) had made the superintendent's house in the main hostel compound unsuitable as a family residence, and the hopes of its reconstruction on approximately the same site had been foiled by the refusal of the Government to grant the necessary amount of land. Hibbert-Ware therefore re-surveyed the whole area and projected a scheme by which, if completed, the central College building would have been flanked by courts built in the same architectural style. The only portion, however, which came into being, and that in a sadly modified form, was the present 'College House,' originally intended to be Rudra's residence as Hostel Superintendent, though it was actually as Principal that he occupied

it after its completion in 1908; his old house (now known as the 'Rudra Block') being converted into rooms for the ever-increasing number of boarders and mainly allotted, for many years, to the Christians. During the interval, Rudra and his two sons lived with Andrews and Western in Maitland House, thus binding closer than ever the fellowship of the staff.

Simultaneously attention was being paid to better provision of science facilities. Grants of £90 each from the Cambridge Committee and the Government in 1903 enabled the laboratories (then in the eastern upper storey of the main College building) to be equipped in such up-to-date fashion that several students promptly joined as casual students for the purpose of studying Science only. Even this improvement, however, did not meet the requirements of the University Commission which inspected the College a few years later, and in order to retain affiliation with the University in Science the present science block was built with the aid of Government and University grants, and opened in 1908.

It would be a great mistake, however, to regard this period in the history of the College as mainly one of material expansion. Bricks and mortar were most consciously regarded as merely contributory to the corporate life which was being sedulously built up. Maitland House became not only a rallying point for Christian colleagues but also a centre to which any student could turn, with the freest access, either for consultation with his tutors or just for friendly conversation. Social functions and activities calculated to draw together staff and students and to promote mutual understanding between the races became the regular tradition of the College. The foundations had already been laid, especially in the 'Falstaff'[1] and in games. A custom, too, had existed for

[1] As in earlier years, a demand had arisen for a junior complement to the 'Falstaff,' and the 'Pickwick' was established and run, chiefly by Day, for Intermediate students.

some years for the members of the Mission to be 'At Home' to the staff and students of the College on the last day of the summer term. This occasion was increasingly supplemented by performances of Shakespeare scenes or concerts. The annual Reunion of Old Students too, at the end of the year, on which Wright had laid such stress, provided an ever-strengthening continuity with the past in this respect.

Similarly, the spirit which Day brought into the games, gave them a probably even wider effect than Wright had reckoned on. He had mainly looked to their character-forming influence, but as run by that genial Irishman they afforded innumerable opportunities for mutual understanding and appreciation. He arrived in the nick of time to stem a despondency among the cricketers after Wright's death, which bid fair to destroy all that had been built up, and by his second year (1904) self-confidence was so well restored that the team only lost three out of fourteen matches in the season. How it was done will be best indicated by Day's own reminiscences: the happy fact that so many of those he names are still on the 'active list' will justify a fairly full quotation:

In those days cricket occupied the most prominent place . . . so that, when I arrived I found an excellent XI in being. The captain in my first year was Buland Iqbal, a Hindu with a Muhammadan name and a member of a prominent Delhi family, many of whom had been students of the College. Other prominent members of the XI were Debi Singh, Ram Kishore, and Mahabir Chand. A little later came Dina Nath, Farhat-Ullah, and Ghulam Yazdani, and later still Shoran Singha (a mighty hitter) and Amar Nath. There were others I would like to mention but alas, I cannot now recall their names. Farhat-Ullah was an admirable fast bowler, especially when he took off his boots. In his boots he was not nearly as effective. On one occasion an address had been given in the College hall on the theme, 'Lift up your hearts.' The next day a cricket match was being played and two of our opponents had become set. They were piling

up a large score, and our men were becoming discouraged. Suddenly Farhat-Ullah, who was bowling, shouted 'Lift up your hearts!' He then delivered a fast 'yorker,' clean bowling our opponents' crack batsman. Ultimately we won the match. Some of my pleasantest recollections are connected with the little tours which we took, to play matches at such places as Meerut, Jaipur and Aligarh. At Jaipur, I remember we were given a particularly warm welcome by Sir Swinton Jacob, the architect of St. Stephen's College.

Our great year was 1908, when we won the Punjab University Cricket Shield. Our opponents in the final were the Lahore Government College, who had won the shield in the previous year. The match was an extremely well-contested one, first one side, and then the other holding the advantage. At length the Government College gained the upper hand, and when our last man went in to bat, we still required 22 runs to win. It seemed an impossible task for two inexperienced cricketers, especially under such nerve-racking conditions. But the coolest people on the ground were the two young batsmen, and with the greatest pluck and determination they set themselves to get the runs. As the score slowly rose, the excitement grew, and when at last Amar Nath made the winning hit, friend and foe alike rose to cheer the victors. It was a memorable occasion, but alas, I was not there to see it, as I was on sick leave at the time.

When I first went to Delhi there was little organised football and no hockey. The only ground available was the piece beyond the cricket-ground, which was far too small. In those days the cricket-pitch was regarded as sacrosanct, and to have suggested that football or hockey should be played on it would have been regarded as rank treason. Afterwards this strictness was modified, and both hockey and football were played on the cricket-ground, without doing the slightest damage to the pitch. We soon developed an excellent team, holding our own with the military and police teams, although many of our players insisted on playing in their bare feet. Many of our cricketers were also good football players. Of the others the Jats especially excelled at football, and I think especially of Thandi Ram, Chhotu Ram and Gyani Ram in this connection. I have also a vivid memory of Hibbert-Ware, clad in long white trousers, tearing down the touch-line

with the ball before him. At a later period the present Bishop of Tinnevelly (Western) was a vigorous full-back.

In addition to activities on the field, annual dinners, followed by informal 'smoking-concerts,' were held at the end of the summer term by the different games clubs. Public opinion was not yet ripe for a compulsory general games fee, and it is therefore with some pride that Rudra reports, when acting as Principal in 1906: 'We have 52 members in the cricket club, 28 in the hockey and 46 in the football club. . . . Tennis still continues, but the more manly games are growing in favour. This progress is entirely due to the Cambridge element on the staff, Messrs. Day, Western and Andrews.[1] An interesting point in connection with these games is that the European military and civil officers are sometimes able to get a certain amount of healthy contact with the Indian students, resulting in mutual appreciation, a thing much needed.'

Even more effective in creating the spirit of followship between teachers and taught was the custom of 'outings' instituted in those days. Generally a dozen or more students joined them, and a few years later it had become the practice for an English lecturer to take out his whole class for at least one such annual outing. 'We would set out,' says Day, 'early in the morning, a party of students and professors, carrying our food with us, and we would encamp in some historic place, perhaps the tomb of a Moghul emperor, or some ancient stronghold. There we would spend the day in song and merry talk, and sight-seeing, and perhaps the reading of a play of Shakespeare. I always felt that these excursions with their intimate companionship, played a very considerable part in the creation of that *esprit de corps* which was so remarkable a feature in the life of the College.'

[1] 'It may surprise some who have studied Andrews' subsequent career,' remarks Day, 'that he was as keen on cricket as I was.'

An incident in connection with one of these outings (recorded in the *Delhi Mission News* for April, 1907) illustrates rather forcibly the degree of mutual confidence which existed. On one occasion Andrews and Western had brought sandwiches for their own use. Carelessly omitting to consider what they might contain, they offered them to some of the 'non-vegetarian' Hindu students, who accepted them. It then transpired that they contained beef! In the consternation which ensued, the students were as ready as the professors to admit that their own carelessness was to blame, and decided to abandon the habit they had been dropping into of eating with the Christian staff, while on their part Andrews and Western undertook not to allow beef again in Maitland House, so as not to check the freedom of access to it so much appreciated by the students. The chief significance of the incident, however, lay in the prompt suppression by the senior students of suggestions made by some of the more newly-joined that the 'mistake' had been intentional on the part of the professors and their indignant repudiation of a distorted account of the incident which some ill-wisher sent to the press.

This was of course a heavy set-back, but fortunately limited in scope, to the practice of interdining which a visitor from England (Rev. J. Carter of Pusey House) takes particular note of in that same issue of the *Delhi Mission News*. He gives a vivid account of the 'first dinner of the newly-formed Graduates Union,' which he rightly regards as a proof of the influence which the College had begun to exercise in the outside world. Over forty were present, including eight Englishmen (one a Welsh M.P.) The menu was vegetarian; but, except for special arrangements for the 'orthodox,' there was no separation of Christians, Hindus and Muhammadans at the dining tables. The atmosphere of the whole function, which included a long toast-list, was

evidently one of complete social ease. The credit for the Graduates' Union is attributed to Ghose and Andrews, and those to whom such dinners in the College at the present day are a source of pride will not find it unwelcome to discover that the tradition dates back a quarter of a century.

All these details may perhaps seem rather commonplace to those accustomed to the long-established undergraduate conditions in the West. But Indian student conditions just in those years were being carried forward on a wave of national and political excitement that might well have swept the foreign-founded institution into very deep waters had it not been for the personal relationships thus persistently promoted at St. Stephen's at all possible points of contact. Hibbert-Ware, in his last report as Principal, gives a survey of the striking changes he had witnessed in student mentality in the course of seven continuous years in the College. He finds the first cause of the sudden intensification of national feeling in the rise of Japan as a result of the Russo-Japanese War, with subsidiary stimulus from the struggle for democracy in Russia and from the increasing consciousness of the grinding poverty of the masses in India. The agitation against the partition of Bengal and the Swadeshi mvement were expressions of the rising tide.

The result is that certain classes are in a state of deep unrest; and the students among them. This is a very great change from what I found when I first entered College. Then it was difficult to find, in their College life, any subject of talk on which they would take fire, anything which showed that they possessed hearts. Now there is one subject on which they are nearly all on fire. One has only to hear them on that and on any other subject to know the difference I mean, for on that alone do they seem to speak from their hearts. It is not difficult to see how deeply this affects our work. Guidance is always difficult to give when passions are violently excited; and the occasions of excitement have been frequent of late. The matter is also in our case terribly

complicated by difference of race. One prominent example of this complication is the extreme sensitiveness of Indians to criticism by an Englishman. If I may judge from what I have read and heard of twenty years ago, they expected criticism then; they would almost too readily admit their faults, to the point of regarding them with complacency; and they looked to the Englishman for guidance. Now they cannot bear to be told their faults by an Englishman. Their own leaders frequently pronounce public condemnations of the glaring faults of masses of their countrymen. But the Englishman who follows suit is angrily credited with having joined a conspiracy, which is widely believed to exist, to keep the Indian people out of self-government by proving its unfitness.

Day's simultaneous report indicates the corollary to this state of affairs that was provided by St. Stephen's:

I suppose there is not a student in the College who is not to some extent 'agin the Government,' and there is certainly no student who is not 'swadeshi,' i.e. determined to buy Indian-made goods as far as possible. At first one was inclined to be alarmed by the intensity of the feeling, but there is really little to be alarmed at. With a very few exceptions the students are eminently reasonable, and open to argument; in their support of the swadeshi movement there is no idea of boycotting English manufactures; they simply desire to encourage their own industries; and they are intensely loyal, if not to the existing Government, at any rate to the Crown. On the initiative of Andrews, two or three discussions have been held in the College on such burning subjects as the Unification of India and how it is to be attained; the discussion has in each case been opened by two of the Christian professors, followed by selected students. In these discussions a high level has been reached, the speakers have stated their views reasonably and with moderation, and the openers have tried to indicate the lines upon which alone a real and lasting national life can be built up. Such discussions cannot fail to strengthen the bond of sympathy and confidence between the students and the staff. This feeling should be strengthened still further by the appointment of Mr. Rudra as Acting-Principal of the College

during Hibbert-Ware's absence . . . I can say for myself that there is no man I would more gladly serve under.

This merely 'acting' appointment of an Indian was of course sufficiently epoch-making in those days, but it was eclipsed the next year (1907), when Hibbert-Ware, though returning to India at the conclusion of his furlough, felt himself called to other work, and Rudra was made permanent Principal. As his tenure of the office was continuous, therefore, from the time when he took over from Hibbert-Ware in February, 1906, it will be better to relegate to the next chapter the problems of staffing and finance to which he had immediately to address himself.

One or two further features of this period, however, still remain to be noticed. Numbers, as previously mentioned, increased again steadily, touching the hundred for the first time in 1905, exceeding it the next year, and never again dropping below. University results remained as generally satisfactory as before, with occasional outstanding achievements in the way of University medals and scholarships, though Hibbert-Ware notes the lack of healthy competition and a marked absence of intellectual life in Delhi, and hence a strong temptation for the best students to betake themselves to Lahore for their higher education. Among the more brilliant performances, Har Dayal, for the first time in his school and college career dropped to second place in the B.A. of 1903, though of course he was in the first division. St. Stephen's naturally claimed some credit for his unique feat the next year of securing, from the Government College, Lahore, the first First Class M.A. in English ever awarded in the University and that with 91 per cent marks. During Rudra's absence in England, in 1905, he filled his place on the staff, and proceeded to Oxford that October on a Government scholarship. Those who know anything of the tragic way in which thereafter the talents and capacity,

which, as Intelligence records prove too well, might have been of incalculable service to the nation, were thrown away in ineffectual revolutionary schemes across three continents, must always wonder whether it can be blamed solely on some queer instability in the man and not in large measure on the hopelessly friendless environment in which Indian students in England found themselves in those days. Martyn had already found himself compelled to address Bishop Westcott and other Christian leaders urgently on the subject while he was in England.[1]

Hibbert-Ware left in February, 1906, for his first furlough since joining the College in 1898, and both in a farewell address and presentation from colleagues and students, and in a public meeting attended by leading citizens, appreciation was expressed of the valuable service he had rendered both to the College and to Delhi. The foregoing record of what he initiated or helped to achieve in the sphere of Christian education is, however, only a portion of his services to India. In the course of his furlough he found that he could no longer resist the call to evangelistic work among the poorer classes in South India. As was made plain by his speeches in England, following up a notable *Occasional Paper* which he had written in 1903 on 'The Place of Education in Missionary Work,' he had by no means lost faith in higher education as a missionary agency; but he felt, and the Mission, though deeply regretting his loss, ungrudgingly admitted, that he had done his part in regard to it, and might properly turn to other work which had always had a special attraction for him. After some years of such work in the Madras diocese he returned to Delhi in 1914, and was engaged in district and pastoral work there till his furlough in November, 1916. Prevented by reasons of health from

[1] See the *Delhi Mission News*, January, 1904.

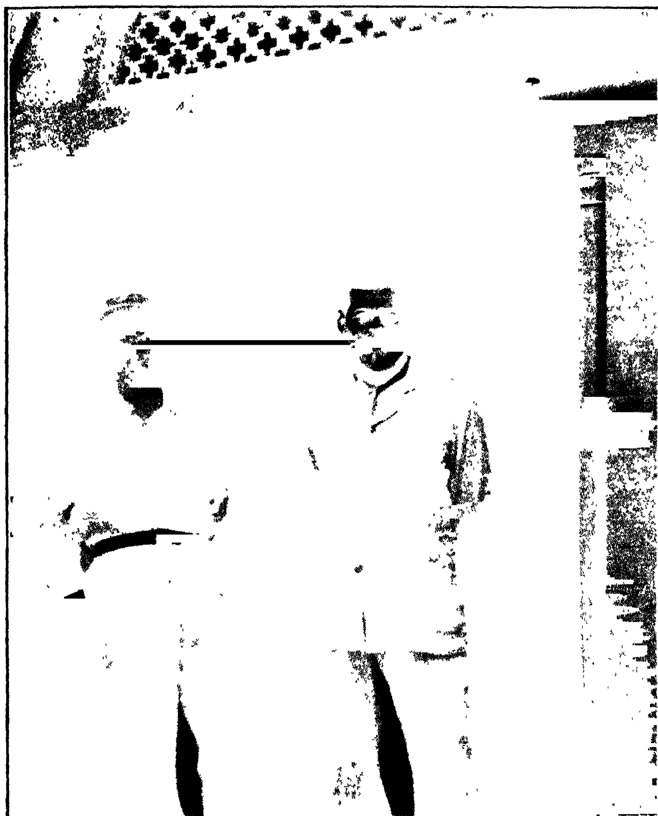
returning to India, he rendered the Mission great service in England by his editorship of its quarterly, *Delhi*, from 1918 to 1920, when he accepted the post of Superintendent of Indian Missions in the Diocese of Natal, succeeding another old member of the Delhi Mission, the Rev. Arthur French. On his retirement to Cambridge in 1930, he served the Mission for yet another two years as a member of its home staff.

CHAPTER IX

AN INDIAN PRINCIPAL

WHEN Hibbert-Ware went to England on furlough in the spring of 1906, it had been agreed 'almost unanimously' by the Brotherhood that Rudra should act as principal in his absence. His selection by Wright and continuance by Hibbert-Ware as Vice-Principal, his immensely successful superintendentship of the hostel, the increasing degree to which his counsel was relied on by his senior colleagues, and the experience he had gained by his recent visit to England, made it practically a foregone conclusion that he should be given the temporary charge.

It was another matter, however, that he should be made the permanent head. A visitor to the Mission in 1907 (Rev. J. Carter, of Pusey House, Oxford), recorded in the *Delhi Mission News* that he would 'say without any tinge of doubt or hesitation that the most valuable part of the work of the Cambridge Mission is centred in St. Stephen's College.' It would have been but human, therefore, if the Brotherhood had felt some disinclination to commit the control of this great enterprise of theirs to one who was not of their own number; though, as Day's remark quoted in the preceding chapter shows, there was no hesitation about submitting themselves, individually, to Indian direction. On that issue their outlook had been steadily developing since the day when Wright, constraining the unwilling Rudra to accept the Vice-Principalship by a final and irresistible



S. K. Rudra and C. F. Andrews

appeal to his patriotism, had declared 'You are to be Vice-Principal; and one day you will be Principal': so that any element of racial consciousness, in the personal aspect, at the time of the appointment was contributed almost entirely by outsiders. To them indeed the step now taken by the Cambridge Mission was epoch-making, marking for the British Christian an objective which, once proved practicable (as it promptly was), he could never in future dare to disown, and for the Indian providing a demonstration of *bona fides* on the part of the 'trustee' nation that was an asset of incalculable value, far beyond merely missionary or educational circles, in the subsequent years of stress. To the Brotherhood, however, the only serious difficulty was one of constitutional procedure, and on June 3rd, 1907, the Chairman was able to announce to the Mission Council that 'the Cambridge Committee had accepted in this case, pending final settlement of the question, the proposal of the Cambridge Brotherhood that they should appoint[1] to the principalship of the College on occasions when it was not desired that a member of the Brotherhood should be appointed; and that in consequence Mr. Rudra's acting appointment as Principal had now been confirmed by the Brotherhood.'

The previous day, directly he had received the assent of the Cambridge Committee, Allnutt had written as follows to Rudra:

I wish to lose no time in announcing to you on behalf of the Brotherhood that you are confirmed in your appointment of Principal. If I could order a salute to be fired on the occasion to certify the pleasure it gives me to make the announcement, I would do so! It will be announced in the Council to-morrow. The pleasure is twofold—(1) personal, that a very dearly valued friend is so deservedly promoted to hold this high and responsible post permanently in our Mission; (2) derived from the sense that it is, if tardy, a step forward

[1] i.e. make appointments of non-Brotherhood men to

in the policy we all recognise as the one called for by the growth of the Indian Church and the duty that developes on us who have been permitted to aid in the early stages of its development, to seek every opportunity of effacing ourselves and giving more and more scope to our Indian brethren for the exercise of their powers and graces.[1] I wish you every

[1] That this was no mere compliment but the acknowledged ideal of the Cambridge Mission as a whole, is shown by the following passages from Allnutt's official reports as head of the Mission:

REPORT OF THE S.P.G. AND CAMBRIDGE MISSION FOR 1906–7

Head of the Mission's letter dated 31st January, 1907, Page 16

'Hibbert-Ware's departure on furlough was made memorable both by the very remarkable demonstration of regard and affection towards him on the part of the students and many others when he left, and still more perhaps by the decision we almost unanimously came to, to appoint Mr. Rudra as his *locum tenens*. Whatever may be held and ultimately decided as to the principle that, *cæteris paribus*, a member of the Cambridge Mission ought to be Principal of the College, not one of us feels anything but pride and satisfaction that when the opportunity did, for the first time in the history of the Cambridge Mission, occur of appointing an Indian Christian to the post, so thoroughly eligible a member of the College staff was, so to say, ready at hand for it, and that the testimony of all concerned is so emphatically that of 'the right man in the right post.' But besides its justification *per se*, the appointment has been an important step in our Mission towards the assertion of the principle which I hope will more and more animate our policy, that whenever an Indian Christian is found both worthy and capable of rising to the charge of the higher posts in the Mission, no racial consideration shall bar the way to his selection for them, even when, as in the present case, the promotion involves the subordination of our own men to him.'

S. S. ALLNUTT.

REPORT OF THE S.P.G. AND CAMBRIDGE MISSION FOR 1907

Head of the Mission's letter dated 30th January, 1908, Page 17

'In one way (Hibbert-Ware's) loss has, as he himself rejoiced to feel, been a blessing in disguise, for it has enabled us to confirm Rudra, our Indian Principal in his acting appointment; and I think that no one now doubts that our action two years ago in putting an Indian Christian in charge of this, the most honourable office in the Mission, has not only justified itself, but was a most important step in advance; the precursor, as I trust, of many similar advances in years to come. It enables me to judge what an immense and, if it be thoughtfully diagnosed, healthy development in public opinion has taken place during the last ten years, that an appointment such as

blessing in the work you have so devotedly and whole-heartedly taken up. I need hardly say I am and shall be always ready to aid you in every way that lies in my power, so far as my leisure and experience enable me to do so.

Such direct evidence disposes finally of impressions that have occasionally gained currency, that the step of 'appointing an Indian' was rather forced on a more or less unwilling body of English missionaries. Some natural doubts there may have been in some minds, as there are at the time of any promotion; and to some of the older missionaries, both within and without the Cambridge Mission, such an unprecedented step was felt to involve too great a risk. But to the majority of the Brotherhood there was no doubt that it was right to take it, and they carried with them the full consent of the Home Committee. Without anticipating, therefore, any detailed estimate of Rudra's long principalship, it may be well to quote, as that of one who was most immediately and personally concerned, Day's summary of the way in which expectations were justified:

At that time no Indian had ever been appointed Principal of an Indian Mission college, and there were considerable searchings of heart as to whether it would be wise to take this step now. But the European members of the staff were persuaded that Rudra was the right man, and they were determined that he should be appointed, and no other. So Rudra was appointed, and what a triumphant success his principalship was! All the qualities which in those days Indians were not supposed to possess—firmness, strength of purpose, organizing ability, the power of leadership, Rudra possessed in abundance. And added to these was a loftiness

this which would, when I left the College, have been deplored as retrograde by Indians themselves, should have now been welcomed with acclamation by all. It is certainly a great cause for satisfaction to have been able to help forward by one conspicuous success the assertion of the principle that in appointments the best man for the post is the one to find and place in it, irrespective altogether of race and nationality.

S. S. ALLNUTT.

of character, a humility, a devotion to his Lord, a love for his fellow-men, which won the respect and affection of all who knew him.

Allusion has already been made to the appeal which, on Allnutt's suggestion, Rudra had written to Dr. Stanton, as Chairman of the Cambridge Committee, when at Wright's death the staffing of the College had all but broken down. He had then expressed one of his most fundamental convictions regarding the College, namely the need for constant and loyal co-operation between Cambridge and India in the supply not merely of funds but of men, the best available. One of the chief handicaps of missionary educational institutions, then as now, was the fewness, and too frequent removal for one reason or another, of those whose religious vocation, added to their educational qualifications, made their personal influence of predominant importance. Even before he took over charge, therefore, Rudra had set himself to obtain a sufficient and continuous supply of missionary staff for the College, and, as will be seen, he had, (some twelve months before the outbreak of the war destroyed so many hopes) good grounds for believing that he had permanently secured this.

For practically the whole of the intervening period, however, this part of the staffing was intensely precarious, and Rudra's annual reports are full of urgent appeals that Cambridge should recognize its responsibilities and opportunities. A series of makeshifts provided for the teaching in the 'English' subjects. The College soon suffered a very heavy loss in Day: he broke down in October, 1906, and had to be invalided for eighteen months the following March. Purton's partial help on the staff which ended in 1908, was replaced by that of another member of the Brotherhood, the Rev. B. P. W. French: but Western had to be withdrawn almost entirely from College teaching at the end of 1908 for work in the

High School, of which he had to take over full charge in 1909, during the furlough of the Rev. N. C. Marsh, the member of the Brotherhood who was by then its Principal. The College therefore fell deeply in the debt of successive chaplains of Delhi, first the Rev. A. P. G. Maunsell, and then the Rev. A. L. H. Selwyn, without whose generous aid as Honorary Lecturers it would have been impossible to provide the necessary English teaching. The uncertainty of Andrews' health, and of his ability to stand the strain, added to the anxiety of the Principal, who writes of 1908 'but for the arrival of Mr. C. H. C. Sharp, who came to us from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to study Indian religious problems and assist in teaching, we should have been left in an almost desperate condition.'

Sharp was a forerunner of that short service scheme, which was just then being taken up by the Student Christian Movement, and which by opening up a fresh source of recruitment for this form of missionary service eventually solved the staffing problem. Meanwhile Rudra could do no more than reiterate three or four times in a single report how seriously under-staffed the College was on its European side, while emphasising how loyally old students were rallying round him to help him tide over the crisis. At one time no less than five old students, two of them honorary, were engaged in the teaching. But more significant still, Delhi city itself was contributing assistance. One leading citizen, Shams-ul Ulema Maulana Nazir Ahmad Khan Sahib, Hon. LL.D. of Edinburgh, a scholar and author of repute and one of the founders of the Aligarh College, had gratuitously given his services (in 1908) as tutor in Arabic for a particularly brilliant candidate for the degree of Master of Oriental Learning. This was the Rev. Joel Waiz Lal of the Baptist Mission, the holder of no less than six University gold medals, and later well-known as one of the chief translators

of the Urdu New Testament. Students of Islam will appreciate the implications of a leading Muslim doctor being ready to train a Christian clergyman in Arabic itself and to rejoice whole-heartedly in his success. 'An equally happy feature,' continues Rudra in his report for 1908, 'has been the invaluable services of Rai Bahadur Babu Mal Sahib, a leading orthodox Hindu, who has been honorary Architect and Engineer of our new Mission buildings, which were finished this year.' No wonder that he is constrained to exclaim, 'A Christian College, which is thus helped by leading non-Christians, and has won such a signal place in the respect and esteem of the city of Delhi, is surely worth every help that can be given by Christians in England. Yet year after year Cambridge has sent us no recruit to work in our College!'

Allnutt, as head of the Mission, added his voice to cry shame on Cambridge if it should prove content to let the general short service scheme save what was so essentially a Cambridge enterprise, but as will be seen it was actually only a considerable contribution of men from the sister University that got the College through the next few critical years. Day had, unfortunately, proved a total loss. On his return to the Mission in October, 1908, he was posted at first to district work with Carlyon at Rohtak, as likely to be less strain than the varied and ceaseless activities of college; but the shortage of staff in the College claimed him after a few weeks, his old malaria got a fresh grip on him the following summer, and he was ordered home for good by the doctors before the year was out. No one, Rudra wrote, had won the sympathy and devotion of the students as he had: the deep personal friendship he had with all his colleagues had made the College work go forward under almost ideally happy conditions. He left an abiding mark on the athletic life and sportsmanship of the College, and his geniality is still vividly remembered by old pupils. Yet, as Hibbert-Ware testifies, he won this affection

without ever letting go discipline, and as a steadying influence on young ardent minds in those very difficult days of earliest national consciousness, he had been an immeasurable asset to the College. Happily, he was able in time to throw off the effects of the malaria and since 1920 has been the Bishop of Ossory and Ferns in his own country of Ireland.

To offset the loss of Day and the complete withdrawal of Western (on his joining the short lived 'Brotherhood of the Imitation' founded by S. E. Stokes), a new lay recruit to the Cambridge Brotherhood, N. G. Leather (Trinity), arrived in October, 1909, specially for College work. At the same time, Sharp, who had found himself able to prolong his stay till 1911, was joined by another short service layman from Oxford, A. C. Judd (Exeter), whose services, however, had almost immediately to be lent for a few months to the Edwards' College of the C.M.S. at Peshawar, and thereafter, from the spring of 1910 to the summer of 1911, to be shared with the High School. In May, 1910, Bishop Lefroy, at some inconvenience, lent his private secretary, F. F. Monk, another young Oxford layman (Lincoln), for ten months' teaching in the College; and Rudra was able to report for 1910 that it was the first time since he took charge of the College that he had not been seriously burdened by anxiety about sufficient staff. The relief, however, was all too short, and by the summer of 1911 it was only an opportune change in the University year, whereby the new classes were formed in October instead of, as hitherto, in May, that saved the College from having to close temporarily for lack of staff. Andrews and Leather both were ill for many months and absent till well on into the autumn term: Sharp had gone home, Monk too: and Judd, the sole survivor of the English staff and he only part-time because of school claims, was only kept going by the assistance of C. B. Young of the Baptist Mission, yet another Oxford (Lincoln) man. Monk

was back with them on a permanent footing by October, but till Andrews and Leather were fit for duty again, the 'partial disorganisation of work' admitted in Rudra's report only faintly indicates what was involved in carrying on full classes, to say nothing of the games and other essential activities, not only with such shortage of staff, but also in the turmoil of the public preparations for the King's Durbar of December, 1911, which were then in full swing.

By the next year, 1912, however, things really had begun to move. The proclamation of Delhi as the Imperial Capital at the Durbar had fired the imaginations and hopes of all who knew something of the possibilities of the College. The new constitution already being drafted for it under University requirements was shaped to even wider ambitions and ideals. And Rudra and Andrews got to England together for a brief but effective campaign at the home base. The constitutional effects are dealt with in the next chapter; the results on staffing may be noted as both immediate and progressive. For the moment, Sharp responded to the call and returned in October, 1912, for another 'short term,' and with him came out another Oxford man, also on 'short service,' F. A. Cockin, (University). A permanent recruit arrived in January, 1913, in the person of S. N. Mukarji (Queens') secured by Rudra and Andrews, while still engaged in his Cambridge course, as one of the definitely 'missionary' staff,[1] and Cambridge pro-

[1] Allnutt's comment on this appointment is a fine example of the old man's spiritual alertness regarding the racial ideals of the Mission, which his letter to Rudra on his appointment will have already revealed. According 'a tribute to the self-denying and devoted efforts of our Indian Principal, to whom this (general) accession to the strength of the College cadre is mainly due,' he specially expresses his thankfulness for the accession of an Indian graduate of Cambridge to the staff. 'The one set-back to the introduction of so large a staff of Europeans, from the point of view of the development of the Indian Church, is that it must tend to overshadow and, despite efforts to the contrary, to dominate the Indian element of college life. The chairs occupied by Europeans being those in some cases which

vided a second permanent recruit in the autumn, Rev. P. N. F. Young, who had resigned the chaplaincy of St. John's College, Cambridge, in order to join the Brotherhood for College work. With him came two more short service men, C. O. F. Jenkin (King's) from Cambridge and W. G. Lawrence (St. John's) from Oxford.

Thus the undertakings, to be explained more fully in the next chapter, for the maintenance on the staff of at least eight Honours Graduates of Cambridge or Oxford, had been more than fulfilled.[1] The War was still unthought of and Rudra might well flatter himself that he had at last made sure of the English section of his team.

Meanwhile he had simultaneously to work for security on the Indian side. It is, unfortunately, notorious in Mission history that employment in Mission institutions, whatever other advantages it gave, was seldom paid for at market rates; while non-Christians, however long their service, were liable to be displaced at short notice by any Christian candidate for the post. (A specific entry to this effect may be found in the Cambridge Mission Council Minutes of those days.) But Rudra had had a strong lead in the 'demonstrations' made by his old chief, Wright, both on the issue of fair dealing with employees, irrespective of their religion, and on the question of rates of pay. Within a month or two of assuming acting charge, he found himself compelled to follow up this lead with representations on behalf of several of his Indian colleagues,

Indian Christians are best able at present to fill, increase in the former seemed likely to reduce the openings for the latter, and it is on this account that the accession of Mr. Mukarji is specially to be welcomed.'

[1] The staff list for November, 1913, carried the names of Andrews, Sharp, Leather, Monk, Mukarji, P. N. F. Young, Cockin, Jenkin, and Lawrence with C. B. Young doing part-time teaching. Judd had gone home in 1912, and after trying College work in China, and looking up old friends in Delhi on his way home in 1914, was killed in France in 1918 while serving as a chaplain. The memory of his most lovable character and readiness to serve in any way, and at any time, is still preserved by old colleagues and pupils.

whose support he was likely to lose just at the outset of his responsibilities, unless the Mission could give them more satisfactory economic conditions.

In putting up their case he pointed out that the College had 'not been altogether successful in combating prevalent ideas of cheapness' as regards the Indian portion of the staff, and that as a result it was 'hardly in any sense of the term a body of serious students of the subjects which in Indian parlance its members are supposed to profess'—in fact that its main character was that of 'a body of tolerable coaches.' Pointing out that the comparatively impecunious condition of these teachers was mainly responsible for the small share they had taken in the recent efforts to enlarge the scope of student life in the College, and was preventing them from buying books and developing fresh intellectual interests of their own, he boldly declared that 'to make the College a real centre of intellectual activity the character of the teaching staff must be changed from that of examination coaches to that of students and enthusiasts; and this cannot be done without offering the teachers such pay and prospects that they may be able to look upon the work they engage in as their life work.' Alluding to the recent great expansion in residential accommodation he admits, 'I know that it is asking a great deal to attempt a double line of advance' but nevertheless 'it is imperative that the personal staff should be strengthened at the same time, otherwise our progress will be one-sided and ineffective.' While coherence and co-ordination of developments were thus recognised as fundamental conditions of success, the emphasis was really being laid on an even more vital principle, namely that the status of a true colleague, and not a mere employee, should be accorded to every teacher in the College. The policy proposed was all the more readily responded to inasmuch as a considerable proportion of those affected were, as already mentioned, themselves old

students of the College. Although, therefore, the actual rises in pay for which the Principal felt able to ask for sanction at the moment fell considerably short of what might justifiably have been proposed, they were accepted ungrudgingly as the best adjustment possible to the current financial resources of the College.

The complementary step of bringing locally appointed Christian members of the staff under the general rates, was next proposed in the Mission Council by Rudra, Andrews and Western. This involved the sacrifice by those concerned of their privileged position, and there were those who held that it would result in no Christian Indians being ready to join the staff. Happily a better faith in the spirit of the Indian Church prevailed, and though the High School, for sufficient, but none the less regrettable, reasons, was expressly excluded from the reform, the principle of equality of status among all locally recruited members of the staff was formally accepted in March, 1909.

There remained the discrepancy between these rates of pay and those of the 'European' staff (actually a misnomer after the appointment of S. N. Mukarji on the missionary cadre by the Home Committees). The latter were sensitive both of the personal embarrassments and of the inconsistency with the principle of fellowship in vocation caused by the differentiation; and themselves took the initiative more than once in exploring means for either its elimination or its better justification. As the fee-income increased in succeeding years with the admission of more students, and Government grants advanced proportionately, both this problem and the general question of rates of pay was brought up again and again by Rudra for reconsideration, on the unassailable basis that the discovery of a proper economic minimum salary is as much the duty of a Christian institution as any other of its functions. It would be tedious and unnecessary to trace the successive

developments of the principle, so it is enough to record that before his retirement Rudra had the satisfaction of seeing the whole question of staff salaries placed on a basis as satisfactory as it was secure for all concerned, whether recruited in India or in England.

The fluctuations in English personnel during these years have already been recorded. On the Indian side the instability was fortunately not so marked. Two important accessions occurred in May, 1906, M. Abdur Rahman as Professor of Arabic succeeding Jamil-ur-Rahman, resigned (he went into retirement and died in 1924): and N. K. Sen, as Professor of Philosophy, replacing in that subject Western, who was needed for the English teaching. Martyn retired that same summer in order to complete his medical course at Edinburgh and devote himself to Medical Mission work among his own people in Madras. For thirteen years a devoted worker in the Mission, his 'kindliness of nature, simplicity of life, integrity of purpose and devotion to duty' were suitably recognised in the farewell party and presentation organised by members of the College on his departure. He died in 1912. His resignation led to Khub Ram's promotion as Senior Professor of Science in July, 1906, and the appointment in November of Baikanath Chandra Roy as Professor of Mathematics. On Roy's resignation in 1908 the gap was filled for some months by one of the M.A. students, Munshi Ram, later a prominent member of the Punjab Provincial Civil Service, till K. B. Basu was appointed in March, 1909, he again being succeeded in May, 1910 by D. N. Bhattacharya, who in his quiet and unobtrusive way quickly identified himself with the life and spirit of the College, served it loyally till 1920, and died in 1926.

On January 17th, 1907, Maulvi Shah Jahan, the last survivor, on the rolls, of the original staff, 'a finished scholar of the old type, highly venerated and loved,' passed away after a

brief illness of three days. The Mission Council recorded their 'deep sense of his long and faithful services,' and Rudra reported that he had accepted a generous offer of temporary help in the Persian teaching from Khwaja Abdul Majid till the appointment of Ghulam Yazdani took effect in May. Both of these were old students of the College. The latter, now Director of Archæology in the Nizam's Dominions, left in 1908, and 'the Khwaja Sahib' became Professor of Persian till his retirement in 1916.

In 1910, Ghose, the oldest old student member of the staff, who had been on it since 1898, left on a visit to England, and on his return was transferred to parish work in the city; by 1913, however, he had been requisitioned again for part time teaching. Two other old students were appointed temporarily during the cold weather of 1912–13, S. C. Chatterji as Assistant in Philosophy, and Mahdi Hasan to replace Khwaja Abdul Majid, absent on sick-leave. Early in 1913 a very well-known figure in College life passed off the active list when B. Sri Kishen Das, the College clerk, went on pension after twenty-six years of loyal service. He died in 1930. Later in the same year, P. C. Mukerji retired after serving the College for twenty-eight years in most varied and valuable ways, in addition to his functions as Professor of Science, for the last seven years or so of them in the capacity of Vice-Principal and Bursar. Also in 1913, Khub Ram went to England to take a degree at Leeds University. The double vacancy thus caused on the science staff was filled by Jenkin and D. K. Roy, a Bengali Christian with an Edinburgh Science degree; the latter being replaced a year later by J. N. Mitra, an M.Sc. of Calcutta. P. C. Mukerji's functions as Bursar were taken over by Raghubar Dayal, while the Vice-Principalship, which under the terms of the new Constitution had henceforth to be held by a member of the Church of England, was undertaken by Andrews.

In less than a year, however, Andrews found himself compelled to respond to the wider claims to which from the first he had shown himself so sensitive. At the request of Mr. Gokhale and other national leaders he took leave from the College in the autumn of 1913 to go to South Africa as a mediator in the struggle then going on between Gandhi and the Natal Government over the condition of the indentured Indian labourers there. He has told the story himself (*What I Owe to Christ*, ch. xii) and the future historian of social emancipation may be left to pay adequate tribute to what he has since helped to accomplish, not only in South Africa but in other parts of the Empire also, in remedying the evils of the indentured labour system. His colleagues' feelings are sufficiently expressed in a few sentences from the *College Magazine*:

> One thing stands out pre-eminently in the history of the College during the last two months, our Vice-Principal's triumphant mission to South Africa. All parties there have publicly acknowledged the value of his help and presence. Let us not fail of grateful acknowledgement to Him from whom all good things come.

It was with more mixed feelings, however, that the College learnt, on his return to India in the spring of 1914, after a brief visit home, that he had decided to leave it forthwith and throw in his lot with his friend the poet Rabindranath Tagore at the latter's educational Asram, Santiniketan, in Bengal. But the loss to the College, which was to be lessened by an annual return to Delhi for two months (quite impracticable as events proved) was offset by the gain to Indian nationhood in a man of his spiritual and intellectual calibre thus identifying himself wholly and unreservedly with India. So the tributes to what he had been to, and done for, the Cambridge Mission during the nine years he had been with it were coloured by the satisfaction of

regarding him as a gift to India from the Church in Delhi. This is confirmed, if confirmation were needed, in the characteristically generous tribute which Allnutt paid to Andrews in the *Delhi Mission News* of July, 1914. He acknowledged in some detail the debt which the Brotherhood owed him both in its devotional life and in the practical administration of the Mission, and, while frankly admitting some sense of relief that the Brotherhood would no longer be embarrassed, as on occasion it had been, by his diversity from its general standpoint, declared:

> If men like Andrews seem precipitate and inclined to break too hastily with the old traditions, I am inclined to say that, rather than condemn them, while we pray they may not by any rashness or ill-balanced judgment injure the cause we all have at heart, we have come to the time when we need bold ventures and experiments in the Mission field. It may be that some day we shall have reason to be thankful for what such men have been able to achieve as pioneers in a new era of missionary enterprise.

From the College standpoint, Rudra's farewell appreciation will not appear excessive to those who know anything of what the friendship of the two men meant both to themselves and to the College which they served in such close partnership:

> It is right and proper that I should record that no single personality has had so great an influence in the development of the College as Charles Freer Andrews. His advent in our midst was a gift from above.

His scholarship and genius for teaching left a permanent mark both on class-work and on the courses of the Punjab University, of which for many years he was a very active Fellow. In practical questions, of administration or of building, his ability and advice were invaluable. And his versatility was exhibited in almost every other aspect of College life. But it was chiefly in the warm personal friendships formed

not only with all colleagues, Indian and English equally, but also with a wide circle of leading men alike in the city of Delhi and in the official world, that his most lasting effect on the College is observable, both in internal and outward relationships. Apart from the estimate that still waits to be assessed of the part he has played in the making of modern India, he stands out in the history of the College as undoubtedly the greatest link on the British side, as Rudra was on the Indian, in that close personal association of the two races which St. Stephen's has so long cherished as one of its outstanding features.

Two other missionary members of the staff left that same spring of 1914. Cockin's spell of short service had come to an end, and though the many services he was able to render the College as an officer of the Student Christian Movement have lately been crowned by his undertaking the Chairmanship of the London Committee of the Mission, the hopes of his eventual return to Delhi were unfortunately never fulfilled. Sharp too went home once more with the intention of returning after ordination. But the War intervened to prevent both intentions and it was six years before the College recovered him. The Vice-Principalship vacated by Andrews was filled by Monk.

One element in the staffing, already alluded to, requires particular notice owing to its significance in the promotion of Christian unity. On more than one occasion, it will have been observed, it was the assistance given by the Baptist Mission, in the person of C. B. Young, an Oxford graduate and scholar who had been on their staff in Delhi since 1908, which saved the teaching arrangements from complete collapse. The Baptist Missionary Society had been working in Delhi even before the S.P.G., since 1818 in fact, but relations between the two Missions had been far from happy in the early days. At the time of Lefroy's consecration as

Bishop of Lahore in 1899, however, Allnutt had noted with great satisfaction not only the expressions of regard and congratulations received from the Baptist Mission, but also the increasing instances of mutual esteem and co-operation between the two bodies. All too much, however, still survived of the old attitude of aloofness and mistrust, perhaps more in official than in personal relations; and it was therefore, relatively, a signal advance towards true Christian relationships that was secured by the gradual inclusion of Young on the College staff. In 1909, with his Baptist colleague, the Rev. Joel Waiz Lal (who had already rendered valuable help in the teaching, the previous year, directly he had finished his examination for the M.O.L.), he helped to save the College from closing early for lack of teachers: in the summer of 1910, he was rendering the same service (this time in company with Dr. Garfield Williams from the C.M.S. at Agra), and early in 1911, on Sharp's departure, he took over from him the superintendence of a small overflow hostel in a hired building. At this point his society showed a very notable spirit of co-operation by requesting to be allowed in future to make itself responsible for the provision of the accommodation thus needed and thereby to make a definite contribution to the education work of the Anglican Mission. It should be noted, too, that the hostellers concerned were not Christians and there was therefore no hint of sectarianism in the proposal. The College warmly welcomed it and when the apprehensions of the higher authorities had been satisfactorily allayed, the Baptist Mission Hostel became a permanent and integral part of the institution. Simultaneously, with the entire concurrence of his society, Young's occasional teaching in the College was put on a more and more regular footing till by 1914 he was a full-time member of the staff. Part of his salary was provided by the Baptist Mission for his functions as hostel superintendent of their

hostel (its own building was erected a mile or so from the College in 1916), and the remainder was carefully charged to College local revenues and not to the special 'European Staff Fund' from which missionary salaries are met mainly by grants from Anglican sources, viz. the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G. Some ten years later it became convenient for his entire salary to be paid by the College, still, however, from local funds, but the Baptist Mission was loth to abandon the privilege of sharing in the work of the College and continued to provide the hostel and his residence as its superintendent. Needless to say, throughout these successive developments scrupulous care was taken by the authorities concerned to safeguard any questions of ecclesiastical principle, so that the most sensitive conscience could find no ground for complaining of compromise; and it was largely as a result of this successful demonstration of what was already practicable in the direction of Christian unity that the S.P.G. and the Baptist Missionary Society found themselves able in more recent years to combine in a joint enterprise, the Delhi United Christian School.

Another venture of faith in the direction of co-operation was made in these days which has had a lasting effect, perhaps not so much on the students directly, as on the *esprit de corps* of the staff and its consequent influence over them. It arose out of Sharp's introduction into his daily religious class of a course on comparative religion. His students complained that they found themselves at a disadvantage in subsequent discussions owing to their lack of knowledge of their own creeds. Voluntary classes were therefore arranged for the imparting of such information under the control of selected and loyal Hindu and Muslim members of the staff, these classes being later recognised formally as the Hindu and Muslim Religious Associations. It must be regretfully confessed that their original and

ostensible purpose has exercised strangely little appeal among even the most religious-minded Hindu and Muslim students, but these associations at least stand witness to the *bona fides* of the Mission College in insisting that its rigid adherence to daily Christian instruction is not mere 'proselytising,' but the assertion of a fundamental and universal principle of education, namely, that it must be rooted in religion, which other creeds should also have the freedom to exemplify if they desire to do so. Consequent on this partial admission of the non-Christian staff to a share in the most vital function of the College, a further step was taken in 1910. Addresses were already being given by the Christian members of the staff on one day in the week to the whole College in place of the teaching in classes: another day was now set aside on which one or two of the Hindu and Muslim professors, whose loyalty to the spirit of the College could be relied on, were invited in turn to address the whole College on some religious or moral topic, the only proviso being that nothing should be said in disparagement of or hostility to the Christian Faith. As a result Rudra could claim, when reporting on the innovation in 1911; 'The non-Christian staff is no longer a merely paid agency for secular teaching, but responsible with us for the whole moral life and tone of the College. The supremely strong Christian position of equity and truth that we occupy enables us to do this. The whole moral weight and influence of the staff as a body is brought to bear on the pupils in one direction, and the Christian position is maintained intact.' Though the regularity of these elements in the weekly timetable has been modified in recent years in the interests of greater continuity and system in religious class-teaching, the practice still remains of this deliberate association of the non-Christian members of the staff from time to time with the moral and spiritual purpose of the College. Probably nothing

has contributed more than this assertion of 'the fellowship of all religious men' to create a unity among the staff which goes deeper than mere identity of occupation or even of vocational ideals.

CHAPTER X

CONSOLIDATION

THE first half-dozen years of Rudra's régime concluded with an epoch-making change in the status of the College within the Mission, namely the concession by the Home committees, in agreement with the Mission Council, of a Constitution which not only put it on a footing of practical independence, but introduced elements into the actual administrative bodies which in an almost unique degree identified every section of the staff with the welfare of the institution.

An examination of the measures and principles thus introduced requires a separate chapter, but some survey must be made of the general progress and activities which marked these particularly formative years, during which, as described in the last chapter, the 'team' was being moulded into an increasingly organic unity.

Finance from the beginning exercised all Rudra's ingenuity. All the new buildings previously mentioned, which had been forced on the College, either by its own policy or by the requirements of the University inspection committees, necessitated the raising of capital in the last resort by personal loans from members of the missionary staff. Current revenue also needed expansion to meet the improvements in staff pay and the high rents paid to cope with the steadily increasing demand for residence, pending the completion of the new hostels. Extra Government grants were slow in coming in, and the difficulties were only temporarily relieved through

the generous concession by the S.P.G. to college use of the balances of the salaries of missionaries who were at home on reduced furlough rates.

Numbers, however, increased steadily on the whole, thus raising the fee-income and removing immediate financial pressure. But in this conection problems involving bigger issues than finance appeared. By 1909 there were 177 students on the rolls, and Rudra could report that he had refused about 30 applications and that it was the first time in its history that the College had reached such a strong position. But then comes the immensely significant announcement:

It was very gratifying to find that some old graduates of the College were most anxious that we should limit our numbers in order to maintain those close personal relations between teachers and pupils which they confess were the most valuable part of their education. We had already resolved to limit our numbers, but the above is the best possible unsought testimony as to the worth of our College missionary work.

The principle of limitation of numbers in the interests of intensive education had thus become for the first time a practical issue. The financial implications were only too obvious, as Rudra pointed out:

It would be easy to obtain more money by taking in larger numbers. But this, as I have explained, we are determined not to do wherever it interferes with close personal contact. Our educational policy is dictated by considerations of sound moral and intellectual training, and we are quite determined not to sacrifice this for mere numbers. Reasons of state, as well as reasons of missionary principle, point to this end. But only those who are engaged in the work can understand the anxieties and worries of a perpetual shortage of funds. The Government grants have failed us. We cannot raise our students' fees till we are fully staffed and equipped. [This was in 1909, at the worst period of hand-to-mouth teaching arrangements.] As it is, our fees are higher than other

missionary colleges in the Punjab. The best students who come to us are also the poorest. The finest moral and intellectual material in India is to be found among the sturdy village populations. We must not in any way hinder this source of supply. The last thing we would wish to do would be to make our college education a rich man's luxury. Yet funds we must have at the present juncture. While, therefore, we make every effort to secure Indian support, we need as we have never done before, subscriptions from England to tide us over the crisis. We fully hope to be self-supporting in the future; but that day has not yet come.

There were two sides, however, to the question of high fees, and Andrews, in the same report, throws another light on the situation:

An ugly discovery was made this year in our own College. We were slandered as having offered the inducement of lower fees to students who wished to enter the Hindu College. The persons who either believed we were capable of doing this, or else deliberately invented the slander, were some of our own senior students. In either case, it revealed a very painful picture of what was at the back of many Hindu minds about our methods of propaganda. I need hardly add that there are large numbers, on the other hand, who trust us sincerely, and show their trust by active support. We have, it is clear, to do everything we can to remove false impressions, and to offer no inducements beyond those of high tone and moral character and a religious basis of educational work. I shall not myself be satisfied till our fees are as high as the Government College, Lahore. At present they are the second highest in the University, and that is so much to the good.

It was partly owing to these high rates of fees that the numbers fell in 1910 to 155, but the check was only temporary and over 200 had been recorded on the rolls by the time the new Constitution was brought into operation in 1914. A notable increase in the numbers of Christians and Muhammadans is the subject of remark in 1910, their proportion having risen from about a fifth to nearly a third of the

College; and the value to the college life of some twenty Christians, who were taking a very definite lead in athletics and social activities, if not as much in scholarship as could be hoped, is particularly noted. By the next year indeed Leather, who had taken to living in the hostel as one of them, and messing with them, sees a danger of their increasing corporate consciousness leading to an unhealthy aloofness and sectional self-importance. Any such tendency was, however, automatically checked by their numbers dwindling owing to a variety of causes, mainly the paucity of Christian matriculates in the Punjab. By 1914, with the total at 185 students, the Muhammadan numbers had risen to 40, but the Christians had fallen to 15, and were still dropping. They were continuing, however, to take the lead in games and in social activities and, now, in work too.

During Rudra's absence in England with Andrews for the greater part of 1912, Western was specially recalled to act as Principal, carrying on till the end of the autumn term and thereby enabling Rudra, after his return early in November, to establish some much-needed personal contact with University authorities in Lahore; and also to throw his weight into the meeting of the Episcopal Synod at Calcutta as a lay assessor representing the Indian laity of the Lahore diocese, one of those contacts with wider Church life which mission colleges are accused of tending to neglect. Western's 'solid work of systematising much in so brief a time, the methods of work which we have been endeavouring to follow here,' as acknowledged by Rudra in his next report, is perceptible to this day by any who have occasion to refer to old files or records, but it also made itself felt in various aspects of current College life. For instance, he found himself refusing a dozen or more applications for entry in the First Year 'both because we are now reaching the limit of our class-room accommodation, and also because on missionary as well as on educational

grounds we feel it desirable to limit strictly the size of classes.' The extra rooms, which the opening of the Science Block in 1908 had made available, had been utilised for providing long-needed reading room accommodation, and Western followed this up with special attention to the provision of library facilities. But even so, such provision was, and remains to this day, uncomfortably cramped.

The demand for residential facilities steadily increased and had to be met, after the completion of the Westcott Memorial storey of the Wright Block in 1908, and the institution of the B.M.S. Hostel, by the adaptation of rented buildings and even, during the house-famine caused by the Durbar, by converting dining-rooms and common-rooms into dormitories. For 1911–12 the total number of hostellers rose to nearly 80, and more than a dozen students had to be refused for lack of boarding accommodation, while city students had to be asked to go and live at home. Sharp had been authorised to start raising a Hostel Extension Fund while in England from 1911–12 and in 1912 Monk took what was then hoped to be the first step towards realising the full scheme, by taking charge of a branch hostel of 20 students in a hired house in the Civil Station. When he returned married after short furlough in 1913, the number thus accommodated had to be reduced to a dozen, and so continued for the next seven years. Ideas of building, however, had to be abandoned, partly owing to the wholesale acquisition by Government of houses and sites for the temporary capital (indeed it was only a hint to Lady Hardinge when she was visiting the College that saved Monk and his hostel from eviction), and still more owing to the schemes for a root and branch removal of the College which were being projected, in consultation with Government, to meet the great opportunities offered by the promotion of Delhi to 'Imperial' status.

Western recorded for 1912 about 90 students as boarders,

i.e. nearly half the total number in the College, and remarked on the superior educational influences that they enjoyed and responded to. This was of course due to the policy of locating the Superintendent, in every case a Christian member of the staff, as closely accessible as possible to the hostellers. Leather and Sharp indeed, in 1910 and 1911, had practically lived in the hostels under the same conditions as the students, but dietetic if not other reasons checked any considerable development of this practice, and after Leather's marriage in 1913, Mukarji assuming charge of the main hostel, retained his rooms in Maitland House like earlier predecessors. But for every hostel there was established a clear tradition that the Superintendent should be readily accessible, day or night, and that he might be found at any hour dropping in on his students in their own rooms. The measure of the success of this policy may be taken from the loyal if misguided way in which old students revisiting their old haunts always insist that 'things are not nearly so friendly between staff and students as they were in *my* day.'

In 1915 yet another hired house was acquired for boarders and put under the superintendence of Khub Ram: and this, though most unsatisfactory both in structure and location, proved sufficiently elastic to meet extra needs till the Allnutt Hostel was built in 1922.

This close association of staff and students was of course practised in many other spheres besides the hostels, and accounts for the complete equanimity with which the authorities of the College could contemplate the impact on it of the ever-rising tide of nationalism. It is true that Andrews' ardent championship of national aspirations embarrassed the College at times with criticism for faults of which it was not guilty. But the staff also frankly risked official displeasure on educational questions when they were able to prove that they knew their job better than the administrative services. Acting

on an elementary educational principle of allowing adolescents free discussion of the national questions with which their minds were naturally, and rightly, preoccupied, the College had more or less to ignore, at the cost of considerable official disfavour, a famous document of 1907, known as the Risley Circular, which inhibited all 'aided' or Government institutions from even *mentioning* politics before their students. Every opportunity was taken, on the contrary, of getting all matters of political interest freely talked out by the students with their senior friends and reduced to proper perspective. As a result, when that egregious circular was tacitly reversed a few years later by a fresh one inviting teachers to underline in their history teaching, for instance, the falseness of any analogy between British rule in India and the Austrian domination of Italy in the nineteenth century, the class that, curiously, was just then dealing with that latter period in its course, declined even to consider whether such an analogy could be made out. Yet the circular clearly implied that it was being all too readily and freely drawn in places where, presumably, official 'educational propriety' in these matters had been observed!

Far the most steadying influence of these days, however, was the *bona fides* demonstrated so opportunely (though of course with no original reference to these considerations) by the appointment of an Indian principal. In other mission colleges, the English staff could actually admit to Andrews that they did not know from day to day whether they would be face to face with open mutiny, and of course the hope of commending the Christian message in such an atmosphere was practically nil. At St. Stephen's, on the other hand, Andrews could declare in 1909 'our relations have grown more cordial during this year of unrest and we have been able to declare our message with sympathetic hearing and understanding.' Day's observations on his return in 1908

from his long sick-leave were similar: admitting that he came back to Delhi rather apprehensive, he took special occasion in the annual report to testify to the loyalty of the students and to declare that he had never known the discipline and *esprit de corps* of the students better than it was, attributing this result almost entirely to Rudra's administration.

By February, 1910 the justification of this policy of the College in political matters could be stated by Andrews in the following terms:

The clear assertion of the principle of sympathy in our College work has again during the year been abundantly justified by its fruits. There has been on all sides from our students an increasing desire to show a friendliness which often ripens into affection. They are proud of their College, proud of the attitude we have taken up, and wholly loyal in following the leading we have given them. That leading has been on the one hand to declare as strongly as possible against the anarchist propaganda, and on the other hand to abate not one jot of our earnest appreciation for all that is good and wholesome in the National movement. Our confidence has been returned in a very striking way. On two separate occasions when anarchist pamphlets had been sent through the post to members of the College, those who have received them have immediately brought them to the Principal, Mr. Rudra, and he has handed them to Government authorities. This is only one sign of the complete loyalty of the College in this most difficult time.

He then goes on to emphasize the exclusion of race-feeling in any form whatever from anything that has to do with the College, attributing it to the willing subordination of the English staff to an Indian principal and vice-principal (P. C. Mukerji), and that in no nominal sense, but from a ready recognition of the superior qualifications of the Indian in the clouded atmosphere of the day. 'They exercise a far stricter discipline than we could do without giving

offence, and nothing can ever be made into a racial difference when the ruling is done by Indians themselves.' Needless to say, no member of the English staff felt any sense of self-satisfied martyrdom in the position, still less of his own British character or self-expression being cramped by this deferring to the direction of Indian *colleagues*: it was there, of course, in Allnutt's and Wright's legacy of a team spirit, as against a 'one man show,' that the real secret of unanimity lay.

It was also in these early years of Rudra's régime that several permanent institutions took shape which have had far-reaching influences on the social and athletic life of the College. Foremost among them may be named the *College Magazine*, the *Games Committee*, and the *Criterion Club*: but these were but specific instances of a conscious and constant exploitation by the staff of every possible opportunity of increasing personal contacts and bringing to bear on the adolescent the influences of Christian character and friendship, and at the same time of eliciting individual enterprise and initiative.

The 'outings' of earlier years as described by Hibbert-Ware and Day were supplemented by 'Reading Parties' of two or three students, Christian and non-Christian mixed, whom members of the English staff, in company with Rudra and his family, would take with them to the hills in the long vacation.[1] Under the very happy-go-lucky conditions

[1] This practice afforded some palliation of the 'very bad departure' which Allnutt saw in the change of the long vacation date in 1911. True, it had enabled staffing difficulties of furlough and sick-leave to be overcome, but 'for Indian students to be sent back for three whole months to the dubious environment of their homes is, I hold, very undesirable. The authorities tried to reduce the evil by keeping them at work on essays and other such devices, but until the homes can be reformed such devices will not serve to obviate the evil inherent in interrupting the beneficial influences of College life for so long a time, especially in the case of the younger and less disciplined students.'

of lodging and food imposed by the limitations of missionary pay, frequent necessity arose on these occasions of 'roughing it' together, affording valuable opportunities both of mutual understanding and of mutual aid in case of sickness. Not the least valuable part of such experiences was that the service was by no means confined to the senior side.

Another form of activity was already being fostered among the students which in later years took shape as the Social Service League. Hibbert-Ware records of his time that though social service was not called by that name and made a formal thing, the thing itself, as a natural effect of the teaching of the College, was sometimes done. He instances an ex-student going with a relief party after the Dharamsala earthquake of April, 1905, and the students in College spontaneously raising a collection for the sufferers, the only previous instance of a similar collection having been that for the Japanese sick and wounded during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, when the motives were probably partly political. The remarks that follow, one is fain to believe, would sound very strange to the present-day Hindu student:

> The difficulties that had in those days to be surmounted, arising from caste practices, in the way of this sort of good works, are perhaps forgotten now. In the First and Second Year classes one day, speaking of Jesus touching the leper, I mentioned how a few days before one of the ladies of St. Stephen's Community had appealed to a crowd to help her to lift a wounded boy into her carriage to take him to the hospital, and none of them would put a hand on him because he was of low caste. I asked them to say if they, in such a case, would help to lift the boy. One, a second year student, answered for all: 'Not if he was of very low caste.'

Yet nowadays the Hindu students take rather a pride in more or less monopolising the conduct of the Sweeper Night School!



The First Committee of Games, 1913

In 1908 Rudra, alluding to the training of the resident Christian students, mentions that 'a sphere of Christian usefulness is given us in Mr. Day's *basti*, which we call our College Mission. (Ordained members of the College staff took over, as a matter of course, some small pastoral charge in the *bastis* or 'courts' of the city parishes.) Andrews refers the next year to the strengthening of the work and indicates where it is likely to lead:

In course of time this connection and sympathy with our poorer brethren will be, I trust, to the non-Christian College students, a living witness of the complete breaking down of the barriers of caste within the Christian Church. I was deeply interested to find, during the hot weather, that Hindu and Muhammadan students were ready to come with me for temperance work into this very district, and how thus far at least they were ready to put aside the feelings of caste and social position in their desire to do good. The new spirit in the country has already turned towards the submerged classes with a sympathy and sacrifice that was previously unknown, and the Christian Church should be the first to welcome the change and lead in the good work.

Ghose formed a valuable link with this sort of work when after his return from England he combined parish duties with College teaching, and by 1914, Sharp had worked out 'a voluntary and well-organised scheme of social service.' But, as has been said, the actual establishment of the Social Service League belongs to the succeeding period.

Of the institutions mentioned above which became permanent features of the College life during these years, the *College Magazine* can well give its own account of itself in the unbroken series of volumes which have issued since the publication of the first number under Andrews' initiative in June, 1907. It continued under his editorship till he left the College, since when the burden has been successively shouldered by P. N. F. Young, C. B. Young and Maxwell Leigh. Its

pages provide a wealth of material that amounts to too great an *embarras de richesse* for an official chronicler to draw on; but the feature that needs to be emphasised in respect of this, as of every other enterprise affecting College life, has been that the students themselves are expected to be more than mere contributors, and, through a representative Magazine Committee, take their proper share in its production.

This principle of compelling students to shoulder responsibility has had its most complete application, perhaps, in the sphere of games. It has been shown what College athletics owed to Wright and Day: and Andrews, with his characteristic versatility, kept things going when the latter had to leave. The achievements of those days, especially in cricket, are still heroic legends; but it has to be confessed that there was one fundamental weakness in them, namely that (in spite of Wright's hopes) not only success in matches, but even interest in the games, depended disproportionately on the personal 'drive' and leadership provided by the 'professors.' The influx of the Oxford short service men made it possible to increase the number of such 'coaches,' and Rudra writes with satisfaction in 1911 that, under Andrews as general superintendent of athletics and in special charge of cricket, Monk was in special charge of football and Sharp of sports and tennis. (Hockey was as yet in its infancy, and owes most perhaps to Cockin.) 'Besides this,' adds Rudra, 'the whole College is divided into three squads for physical drill,' conducted by Sharp, Monk and Leather; 'the discipline of the drill has reacted most healthily on the life of the students. The life brought into the College by these young workers has been invaluable.' But to these same 'young workers,' fresh from British universities, however much they had to acquiesce in the necessity of imposing compulsory drill in a College curriculum, the dependence of undergraduates on their 'teachers' for their daily games (to say nothing of the sheer pauperisa-

tion and patronage they invited in the provision of gear, touring expenses, etc.), seemed altogether too anomalous. A conscious policy was therefore now introduced, and steadily pursued henceforward, of inculcating in, if not actually forcing upon, the leading players a spirit of self-respect which, to quote the document of 1914 constituting the Committee of Games, would 'remove the reproach that the students had not sufficient initiative or organising power for managing their own amusements.' The committee, first tentatively formed during Western's brief régime in 1912, in its broad features represented the combination for consultative purposes and corporate action of all the captains and secretaries of the different games, together with other prominent players, under the presidentship of a member of the staff. The latter's function was as far as possible to limit his exercise of direct authority to the administration of the games fund, and in other matters to confine himself to an advisory influence in order to elicit those qualities of leadership and impartiality into which the school system of those (as indeed of these) days provided no initiation, but which were becoming so increasingly and urgently demanded in public life. The continued allotment of different members of the staff as coaches to the various games ensured proper attention to the standard of play and of sportsmanship; and the actual progress of athletics as such is too much of a commonplace to require any special further notice. But the educational instrument then fashioned in the shape of the Games Committee Constitution, whether under Monk's often highly unconstitutional manipulation of it during the first five years or under Mukarji's greater loyalty to the letter of the law, undoubtedly provided the College with one of the most potent means it possesses for producing men who have tasted something of that highest test of leadership—the direction and control not of subordinates but of their peers.

Perhaps, however, in this matter of character-building, it is the Criterion Club that has provided the most important example of student initiative; although, owing to the inevitable fluctuations of available ability in the successive student generations, this has been expressed sometimes more in principle than in actual practice. The Club took its rise from one of the annual phenomena of a 'First Year Club,' but the batch of 1909 happened to include Rudra's elder son, Sudhir, and a handful of other exceptionally independent characters. From the first it exacted a standard of loyalty and punctuality from its members that was quite strange to ordinary student mentality, and it also cherished an attitude towards the staff which respectfully but firmly discouraged anything in the nature of patronage. Such traits were of course welcomed warmly by authority as of the very essence of sound education, and the Criterion survives to this day as, to the senior students, one of their most cherished privileges of complete independence from official control, and to the staff, one of the most hopeful, if also at times trickiest, elements in the adolescent material which it is their business to shepherd into citizenhood.

It only remains, in the review of these years, to allude to the ostensible *raison d'être* of the College, its academic output. All the other activities and interests surveyed above give sufficient assurance that no ideal of mere book-learning was tolerated. But in so far as such public tests give any measure of the value of the institution to the community, University and similar successes during these years may be briefly recounted.

For 1906 Rudra could quote entries into the Engineering and Medical Services, a good proportion of old students in the LL.B. lists at Lahore, and the only First Class in the Lahore Bachelor of Teaching Examination. He could fairly claim therefore that the College, considering its numbers, was

'taking its share in furnishing excellent servants and citizens of the State, not to mention scores of men who occupy humbler positions in life.' And he also mentions the significant fact that no less than seven old students of the College were pursuing further courses of study in England. In 1907, the College obtained sanction from the University to open M.A. classes in Mathematics and Philosophy in addition to the long-standing English and Sanskrit. Joel Waiz Lal took his M.O.L. in Arabic in 1908, and in the same year two public scholarships were secured by old students, one from the Punjab Government for training in Textile Industries, the other from the Kashmir State for Mining Industries—healthy indications that the education given in the College was not tending too exclusively to a merely academic outlook. In 1909, L. Munshi Ram gained the first place in the Provincial Civil Service examination and the only post awarded. In 1910 results were 'very satisfactory' and included a University Gold Medal and the highest University scholarship; 1911 secured by far the best percentage in the Punjab in the Intermediate examination, besides half a dozen Honours degrees (by extra papers only, in those days), including one first place and a couple of scholarships. Western found the results for 1912 'distinctly good' and that they very satisfactorily justified the care taken in limiting the size of classes and applying a strict test for promotion to the 'examinee' years. And another 'highly gratifying' list of leading places, University medals and scholarships for 1913, together with the best entire pass percentage in the University, was rounded off by the first place and a scholarship in the Entrance examination to the Rurki Engineering College. The only justification, for such a catalogue, of course, is the evidence it affords that sound educational practice was proving even to the 'commercially minded' that it could 'deliver the goods.'

CHAPTER XI

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, TEACHING SYSTEMS AND NEW BUILDING SCHEMES

It would not be correct to ascribe the expansion of the College, which marked the early years of Rudra's principalship, entirely to the internal dynamic. A considerable share of the credit must also be assigned to outside pressure, ultimately traceable to Curzon's great Education Act of 1904. Allusion has already been made in Chapter VIII to the scope which the reforms thus introduced at last afforded for realising some of the educational ideals of the older British universities. But there were accompanying obligations on the material side, and it has to be admitted that the building extensions for science and so on were carried out under plain threats of disaffiliation from the University Inspection Committee. Similarly, internal economy had to be attended to, and by 1910 a new Constitution for the College was in process of formation to meet the objections of the University to the 'somewhat anomalous conditions under which the College had so far been regulated.' By March, 1911, the draft was ready for submission to Cambridge; but when it returned, amended, a year later (these things move slowly!) the whole outlook had by then been altered.

The change in the status of Delhi as the new Imperial Capital, announced so dramatically at the durbar of December, 1911, had immediately fired the imaginations of all connected with the College, and their hopes and ambitions

had taken shape in a project for its removal to a new site where it could be better equipped to meet its new opportunities. The new college building scheme is a separate story, largely, alas, one of frustration, to be traced in its due place; but with the plans for building went the crystallisation of several vital principles which, as the foregoing record shows, had been consciously present from the earliest years and now came to be explicitly accepted as fundamental. The chief of these, apart from the absolutely primary assumption of an explicitly Christian basis to everything connected with the College, were the limitation of numbers, as great a residential element as possible, and the corporate unity of the staff.

The first two points were left to administrative practice, but the third naturally influenced considerably the shaping of the new Constitution. It is unnecessary to trace the intermediate steps, but by the time the amended draft of 1911 had been reviewed and altered and submitted once more by the Mission Council to the Home Committees in March, 1912, it embodied practically all the elements which characterise the Constitution of the present day, later revisions having been mainly in matters of working detail. Examination of it (its main provisions will be found in the Appendix) will reveal the following special features:

In the first place, complete independence was granted from the control of the Mission Council, to which hitherto all major matters had had to be submitted, minor questions both of administration and finance having been left to the authority of the Principal, subject to such consultation with his staff as he chose to avail himself of. The Mission Council had for some years been felt to be an unwieldy and ineffective body, and in March, 1911, some improvement had been introduced by the institution of permanent sub-committees for the various departments, the College being treated as a separate one and a sub-committee of three persons, elected annually,

being charged with the preliminary shaping of all business connected with it which required the Council's sanction or decision. This was, however, an unsatisfactory system of direction and administration for an institution now numbering over 200 students, and a staff of 16 or so.

The dominant element in the new Constitution was therefore the Governing Body. Its composition was the subject of prolonged discussion and it eventually embodied, owing mainly to the strenous advocacy of Rudra and Andrews, certain elements which, as the Lindsay Report shows, would still be regarded as anomalous in the board of direction of many a mission college. The sheer facts of experience over seventeen years, however, have amply justified their inclusion. They were (1) a strong staff representation, (2) a non-Anglican membership, and (3) a non-Christian membership. In all three of these so far from any European bias being admitted, it was explicitly required that the staff representatives should include Indians.

Needless to say, the nucleus of the new Governing Body was formed by representatives of the Mission, which was thus with such courage and faith devolving on to this wider circle the responsibilities which it had hitherto retained in its own hands. The Head of the Brotherhood was naturally, in view of the origin of the College, retained as Chairman, and with him were associated two further representatives of the Brotherhood, two of the Mission Council, and a representative of the Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. The staff element of course included, *ex-officio*, the Principal and Vice-Principal, both of whom had henceforth to be members of the Church of England or of some church in communion therewith; but the first innovation was the admission to *ex-officio* membership of the Bursar, who, like the Vice-Principal, was to be appointed annually by the Principal, but in the choice of whom he was not even limited to Christian members of the staff. To

these three *ex-officio* staff representatives were added three others elected by the whole staff, of whom one was to be of the missionary cadre and two were to be Indians. One further place was allotted to 'a person appointed by the Principal,' which has usually been utilised to secure the experience and counsel of some senior member of the staff who has happened to be neither an *ex-officio* member nor eligible for election.

It will be seen that, assuming the Mission representatives to be all Anglican, as well as the Principal and Vice-Principal, the possible intrusion of a non-Anglican or non-Christian element was limited to the Bursar, two elected staff representatives, and the Principal's nominee. Safeguards were naturally imposed to prevent such persons from exercising any voting powers in relation to specifically Anglican or specifically Christian issues, as the case might be, that came up for consideration. But sufficient justification of the confidence thus placed in fellow-educationists is to be found in the fact that at the last revision not only was the original requirement waived, that such persons should withdraw from even the discussion, but an additional non-Christian (or possibly non-Christian) element was added by the provision for the co-option of two Indians belonging neither to the College staff nor to the Mission. The purpose of this was to extend to old members of the College, or other persons of goodwill in the city of Delhi, the confidence that had been so loyally responded to by non-Christian members of the staff.

One weakness that did reveal itself in this liberal representation of the staff on the body which controls what each individual is encouraged to regard as his life-work, was the undue preponderance of such members when matters affecting their own pay or prospects happened to come up for decision. Though there has never been a hint of any abuse of the position, it was clearly anomalous and embarrassing, and at the last revision of the Constitution members of the

staff other than the principal, though still entitled to take part in any such discussion, have been precluded from voting upon it. In all other respects the Governing Body's functions are those of any ordinary Board of Direction, its financial duties being limited to capital expenditure, sanction of the annual budget, and passing of the annual accounts.

Above and below the Governing Body are two other bodies which are again a divergence from the usual bipartite administrative arrangement of 'Board of Direction' and 'Staff Governing Body,' but which have very fully justified themselves in practice, namely the Supreme Council and the Managing Committee.

To the Supreme Council is entrusted control of 'the religious and moral instruction of the students of the College and all matters affecting its religious character as a Missionary College of the Church of England.' In a way it may be said to provide special Church safeguards on fundamental matters to counterbalance the delegation of administrative duties to a Governing Body no longer exclusively missionary. Its membership is limited to the Bishop of the Diocese, the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood, the Chairman of the Governing Body if he happen not to be that Head, the Principal of the College, and representatives of the two 'Home Societies,' the S.P.G. and the Cambridge Committee, and of the Chapter of the Diocese.

At the annual meeting of the Council the Principal presents a full report on the distinctively religious function of the College during the past year, together with any issues affecting its religious character which may have come before the Governing Body; the report also includes, of course, details submitted by the Christian members of the staff of the experience, impressions and suggestions derived from their daily religious teaching during the year; and other specifically Christian activities are also dealt with, such as addresses to

the whole College, whether by staff-members or by visitors, or the part played by Christian students either in College life or in the wider sphere of the Student Christian Association. The Council then reviews and approves, cancels, alters or advises on the matters so referred to it.

The only other function of the Council is 'to appoint and, should occasion arise, after due enquiry, to remove the Principal.' It is precluded from any further part in the management of the College, and the *raison d'être* of the College is thus carefully preserved from any confusion with its current politics. Though the Council is at present, of course, a purely Anglican body, it will be clear that its composition would, with a minimum of adjustment, admit of the substitution of a wider Indian Christian element in place of the foreign representation, if the Home societies should eventually decide, in accordance with current tendencies, to transfer their responsibilities to the indigenous church.

Subject to the control of the Governing Body in capital expenditure and annual budgets and accounts, the Managing Committee's technical function is the day-to-day financial administration of the College: but it is also specifically framed to 'act as an Advisory Council for the Principal in other matters.' It is in this body that what might be called 'staff self-government' has been most boldly applied and most conclusively justified. The committee consists of five members—the Principal, Vice-Principal and Bursar *ex-officio*, and two members elected by the staff voting as a whole, of whom one must be a missionary member and one must be an Indian. (Any danger of this provision stereotyping by implication a division of the staff into racial sections had been happily precluded by Mukarji's inclusion into the missionary cadre before the Constitution came into effect, and by C. B. Young's appointment shortly after on the locally recruited staff.) Even more perhaps than the representation of the staff on the

Governing Body, this bold association of all its elements in daily financial administration has made for *esprit de corps* and identification of the individual's interests with those of the institution. How far it diverges from normal Mission College practice may be judged from the criticism and complaints of an opposite policy so frequently noted by the Lindsay Commission. In only one respect does this liberal policy seem to have led to any difficulty, when, some years ago, the rights of the Governing Body in the passing of the annual budget had to be asserted and were amicably conceded and defined. Not only have the financial functions of the Managing Committee secured to the staff, through its representatives, full and free information on all questions of expenditure or of the financial stability of the College, but they have also afforded valuable experience of the actual management of affairs to others than the Principal and his deputies, the Vice-Principal and Bursar, a matter of the greatest moment to those who realise how frequently sudden casualties have to be replaced in India.

In the advisory functions of the Managing Committee constitutional technicalities give way to the art of leadership, and probably nothing has contributed more to the solidarity of the staff than the tradition by which successive principals, while renouncing none of their responsibility for personal decision, have invariably taken into their confidence and counsel their colleagues on the committee in everything that even remotely affects the policy, established customs or discipline of the College. Supplementary to this advice, too, the long-standing practice of staff meetings, established first, as has been seen, by Allnutt, though not actually embodied in the Constitution, was perpetuated by Rudra as a fixed tradition; thus ensuring to the Principal on the one hand a full knowledge of the corporate mind of his colleagues on any major issue affecting College life, and to the staff on the

other hand, from its most senior to its most junior members, their identification, both individual and collective, with the welfare of an institution of which they are regarded not, as too often in other cases, as mere employees but as an integral part.

Lest the constructive ingenuity of the 'architects' of the College should seem to have been confined to administrative machinery, it may be well to interpose here some account of the *educational* machinery which took shape in its main lines at this same period, and which, apart from modifications imposed from time to time by the force of circumstances, is still recognised as the basic organisation of all classwork.

Up to the time of Rudra's appointment, and during his first struggles to secure stability of staff, teaching was perforce considered mainly from the side of the subject rather than of the class. Indeed at the worst period of hand-to-mouth arrangements, it was not uncommon to look to the chaplain of the station to be good enough to 'do a bit of English' as the only means of providing the instruction for which fees were being levied from the students. Such a situation was of course intolerable, alike to the College educationists and to the inspecting authorities of the University. But when Rudra had fought his fight and secured a permanent and adequate staff, it became possible to advance to a higher educational outlook and to shift the emphasis from the subject to the pupil.

From the first, as has been seen, the originators of the College had refused to be content with mere 'imparting of instruction' and had stressed the primary importance of the training of the mind and the development of each individual personality. This of course can never be accomplished by any mere 'lecturer' but demands the full and persistent impact of the teacher's own personality; and in no branch of

the university courses were the opportunities for its exercise wider nor the neglect of them more harmful than in the English curriculum. Although theoretically the matriculation which admitted a boy to the college classes was supposed to have equipped him with the English language as a medium for the study of other subjects, it was, and still remains, a notorious fact that this is so far from being the case that the teachers of those subjects, particularly on the arts side, are handicapped at every turn by the language difficulty. In effect, the major job in the Intermediate classes is to complete what should have been done at school and so to raise the student's capacity in the handling of English, both for the reception and for the expression of ideas and facts, that the subjects constituting the degree course may be dealt with through lectures more in keeping with academic methods of study than the class teaching which has to be followed in the junior years. Besides being thus related to all the other courses the English course, especially when the too often haphazard prescription of textbooks has been replaced by a systematic selection of different types of subject and expression, provides not merely technical instruction in the language, but also an extensive range of ideas and experiences entirely foreign to the Indian schoolboy, but of vital significance to him as an inheritor of the joint cultures of the East and the West. Even in the earliest years, as Allnutt's remarks on the courses of his day, quoted in Chapter III, will have indicated, the Cambridge Mission educationists had regarded the English course as more than a mere subject of instruction; but owing to the exigencies of staffing its wider educational utilisation had perforce been sporadic and interrupted, while the personal impact of any individual teacher on his class had been dissipated among several sets of students with whom his relations were mainly regarded as those of 'the English lesson.'

With the establishment, by 1913, of a full staff cadre, it became possible to give greater regularity and permanence to these relations; and what came to be called the 'Class-lecturer' system was introduced and developed. Under this system each class on its formation, whether for the Intermediate or the Degree course, is allotted to one particular member of the missionary staff for the two years' duration of the course. Academically he becomes responsible for the English curriculum of his class; educationally he takes general charge of that whole set of adolescents and, in the Intermediate, shepherds it through that vitally formative period both mentally and morally, while in the Degree classes, where for the first time English can be treated more as literature and less as mere language, his function is perhaps more in the nature of co-ordination of courses. The daily contact and influence thus secured in the English period is usually reinforced by the same individual taking the class in the daily religious teaching which is jealously preserved as the introductory teaching period of the day. The consequent cross-references and illustrations that can be introduced in either period are of a value that does not need to be elaborated; and the personal relationships of the class-lecturer with his own particular pupils, thus based on their primary intellectual pre-occupations, are intimately and unobtrusively linked up with those religious presuppositions which are the basis of all the educational influences offered by the College.

Auxiliary to his own immediate functions, the class-lecturer has not only constant opportunities for comparing notes about any individual student with colleagues teaching the other subjects, but also the assistance of a 'tutorial system.'[1] Under this arrangement all students other than

[1] It is perhaps desirable to distinguish explicitly this 'tutorial system' from a practice to which the name is sometimes misapplied, but which is more accurately termed the 'tuitional group' system, one

those resident in a hostel (for whom the Superintendent stands *in loco parentis*) are allotted to one of their subject-teachers, not as an academic supervisor (the class-lecturer performs this function) but as referee for any personal or domestic affairs of the lad. It must be admitted that too often this relationship is in practice limited to the signing or forwarding of leave applications, for the pressure of daily routine makes it all too hard nowadays for a busy lecturer to find leisure to look up the boys in their own homes. But even at its weakest this provision ensures a double observation of the progress of the adolescent through the bewildering variety of new experiences and opportunities which college life affords; and very frequently the co-operation and mutual counsel between class-lecturer and tutor has been the saving of many a bright lad who would otherwise have come to grief either morally or academically.

Needless to say, neither the administrative nor the educational organisation outlined above reached its maturity during the period with which this record is at present concerned. But the foundations thus securely laid by the team that then, for all too brief a time, was at full strength went sufficiently deep to survive the flood of war-conditions which so soon burst over them and swept away so many hopes that had been built on those foundations.

The most far-reaching of these hopes was that of transferring the College to more adequate buildings in the new capital. The proclamation of Delhi's change of status had been at once recognised as likely to affect the College more than any other department of the Mission. The new

of the methods regularly employed in every department of teaching for the double purpose of more effective instruction in the subject on the one hand, and on the other of establishing those relations of personal familiarity and confidence between teacher and taught through which alone the acquisition of knowledge can become vital and dynamic.

residents who would be flocking into Delhi would belong chiefly to the educated classes, and the large proportion of Government officials among them would find the proximity of Delhi to the summer headquarters of Government at Simla and the recently changed dates of the long vacation (mid-June to mid-September) particularly convenient for the education of their sons. Given good hostels and good staff, enough applications might be expected to enable the College to pick and choose in its admissions; and official goodwill had already been sufficiently indicated to justify hopes of a generous increase in Government grants. Within a few weeks, a site in the new city had been formally applied for, and Rudra, reporting this to the Home Committees in February, 1912, was warning them that

to hold our own in the new city that is to be, where the cream of the intellect of the Empire will be congregated, to establish the moral supremacy of Christian work and worth, and thus to win the homage of all to Christ and His power, it is quite clear that we can no longer carry on St. Stephen's College as we have done in the past, but must definitely so organise it as to ensure to it a supreme position as the most efficient and best type of a missionary college.

Dreams were even indulged in of a great co-operative effort among Missions to meet the greatness of the opportunity. 'Our one hope,' wrote Andrews in the same report, 'of creating a supreme personal impression (the thing above all others needed) lies in the co-operation and concentration of all available forces. The day of small and sectional endeavour is past, never to return. It has also been wasteful in the extreme. It appears to me to be worse than foolish to fritter away our sparse forces in useless and unmeaning rivalry, while presenting the elements of the Christian message which we hold in common. What is clearly required is to find out by experiment a thoroughly satisfactory basis for co-operation. This is by no means difficult where mutual trust and good-

will exist.' And he then quotes the Baptist Mission Hostel and its relation to the College as a suggestion of what might be effected with a scheme of inter-mission hostels connected with one central institution.

The visit of Rudra and Andrews to England in 1912 was chiefly undertaken to press these convictions on the authorities there and to commend to them the plans which were being put into practical shape by the men on the spot. The hopes of an inter-denominational effort received such a set-back from the apprehensive attitude of the Anglican authorities of those days towards the association of C. B. Young and the Baptist Mission with a Church of England institution that any idea of the advancement of Christian education in that direction had to be given up. In general, however, the scheme was approved, a Building Fund started, and an appeal issued. As submitted to Government and adopted by the Cambridge Committee the scheme envisaged a college limited, at the utmost, to 250 students, of whom 200 should be resident, accommodated in five hostels of 40 students each, under the superintendence of resident Christian members of the staff. The cost was to be met partly by Government grants, partly by taking over, in exchange for the existing buildings, the funds already collected towards the long-needed provision of proper high school buildings; and it was reckoned that a sum of £15,000, in addition, would have to be raised by subscription in England. The response to the appeal was encouraging and before the War suspended the collection of funds some £6,000 had been either given or promised, half of that amount being a generous undertaking on the part of the S.P.G.

The official re-action to the proposals, however, was even more significant. In the application for site and maintenance grant submitted to the Government of India through the Local Government by the end of 1912, the chief points stressed

in the project were the limitation of numbers, the aim to make the College as far as possible residential, and the undertaking to maintain a staff of at least eighteen members, of whom eight should be Honours Graduates of Cambridge or Oxford. (Though it fell outside the official purview, the fact that these eight would be men with a Christian educational vocation carried its indirect weight.) In other words it was proposed to apply for the first time explicitly and thoroughly to the much debated problems of Indian student life a policy of intensive personal education based on religious motives and ideals.

It is impossible to say which carried most weight with the official mind: the intrinsic merits of the scheme or the diplomatic reminder which accompanied it that the College had originally been opened at the instance of Government in order to discharge its duties towards the city of Delhi in the matter of higher education, that those obligations had now been enormously increased, and that if they were not to be met as heretofore by subsidising such private enterprise, a far greater expenditure of public funds in establishing a Government College would be unavoidable. In any case acknowledgement must be made of the warm personal goodwill shown to the College both by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, Mr. W. M. Hailey, and by the Education Member of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Harcourt Butler (both of them known later as distinguished Governors of Provinces). The official reply to the proposals, which was received in March, 1913, has not unjustifiably been regarded ever since by the College as the charter of its service to the State. Addressing the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, the Government of India inform him that they 'accept his recommendation of the desirability of fostering this institution' and though they find it impracticable to commit themselves to exact details at the moment, they have no objection to the guarantee, which the

College authorities asked for in order to be able to appeal authoritatively to their clientèle in England, being given in the following terms: namely, that the scheme as presented is generally approved, that subject to financial considerations and the collection of adequate subscriptions by the Mission, a free grant of land and of further financial assistance will receive favourable consideration, and—last but by no means least—that as an earnest of goodwill a sum of one lakh of rupees (i.e. some £7,600) was then and there being made over to the Chief Commissioner to be realised when he should be satisfied that sufficient funds had been raised to commence building.

The last item, repeated by a similar grant in January, 1915, seems almost reminiscent of the Golden Age in these days of financial crises. But though the buildings then projected are represented only by a drawerful of striking plans and elevations, long since scrapped as too costly in a post-War world, this earnest of official goodwill, like that of the S.P.G., still lies intact and waiting to be utilised. The funds so raised have long been judged sufficient to commence building with, but conditions undreamt of in those days have so far effectively precluded any start.



The College Staff, 1914

CHAPTER XII

THE WAR YEARS

It was only gradually that the full effects of the War began to make themselves felt in India, and among the various activities of the Cambridge Mission it was only the College that felt them immediately and directly. The staff team which Rudra had just completed with such labour and hope, was the first to suffer. Sharp, already in England, obtained a commission almost at once, and military service held him till the end of the War. Lawrence and Jenkin utilised their leisure during that first winter to take preliminary military training with regiments stationed in Delhi, and were commissioned as soon as they got home in the spring of 1915. Jenkin was wounded early in France, and his skill as a chemist was thereafter employed on specialist work at home and transferred to industry on his demobilisation—a great loss to the College on the science side which has never yet been adequately replaced. Lawrence got to France by the autumn of 1915 as an Observer in the Flying Corps, and was shot down over the German lines in almost his first flight. For long the absence of news of him kept hope alive, and it was many months before definite information was received that he had died of his injuries in a German hospital. A brother of T. E. Lawrence of Arab fame, he shared his exceptional originality and daring and combined it with a charm that had immediately won the affection of the students and put him into the closest touch with them, not only in all forms of college life but also in

their homes. It is hard to put a limit to what he might have contributed to the College had he been spared.

With the prevailing, but sadly ill-judged, optimism of those early days the return of these men was hoped for 'in a year's time,' and only one man was therefore asked for by Rudra in his 1915 report to tide over their absence. One temporary local appointment, A. C. Sen, an M.A. of Calcutta, was made in the History Department that September. Khub Ram, who opportunely returned at the same time with an M.Sc. degree from Leeds University, not only filled Jenkin's place in the Science teaching but also now brought an accession to the Christian element on the staff. Even during his student days under Allnutt he had acknowledged himself, privately, a follower of Christ; and during his residence in England he had been baptised into the Christian Church. To fill in some degree the other gaps, the Rev. W. C. Roberts, a late Principal of the Dorchester Theological College and Rector of Crick, near Rugby, volunteered to come out with his wife for the cold weather of 1915–16. They shared Maitland House with P. N. F. Young and laid the College under a deep debt of obligation by what they contributed to its life, both intellectually and socially. In Roberts' place, the autumn of 1916 brought the Rev. W. F. Ireland (St. John's), who as a member of the Brotherhood restored the contribution to the staff of two members from that body undertaken in 1913, but reduced to P. N. F. Young only, by Leather's marriage that same year.

Leather and his wife, incidentally, had been able in spite of the risks of the voyage to take a furlough to England in the summer of 1915, and got back without mishap[1] as did C. B. Young in 1916. On the other hand, the Punjab Univer-

[1] Except for a fire which, in their absence, had destroyed most of the property left in their Delhi flat, including, unfortunately, some irreplaceable early registers of the College.

sity had not been so fortunate, and finding the Sanskrit Lecturer from its Oriental College irrecoverably interned in Germany, whither he had gone for study, it appealed to St. Stephen's in January, 1916, for the loan for nine months' of the services of Raghubar Dayal. Such a compliment from the University could not be declined, and during his deputation his place was taken by Pandit Lalita Prasad Sastri of the Dayal Singh College, Lahore.

This, as it proved, was Raghubar Dayal's final severance from the College, for on the completion of his service with the University he accepted the principalship of the Sanatan Dharam College, Lahore, the fortunes of which he directed with success till his early death in 1929. His brilliant degree in Sanskrit had earned for him the title of Pandit by which he was generally known, in spite of not being a Brahmin; actually he was one of the most active and enterprising leaders of the Kayasth community of Delhi, which has always formed such a strong element in the College. He had been connected with St. Stephen's as pupil and lecturer for over fifteen years, and his services to his Alma Mater in administration, in teaching and in its social and religious life, are still widely remembered with gratitude and appreciation.

To the post of Sanskrit lecturer thus vacated, another old student was appointed in October, 1916, Pandit Lachhmi Dhar, who had just completed an archæological apprenticeship under Sir John Marshall. Simultaneously the Persian post, which Khwaja Abdul-Majid had vacated by his retirement from educational work that summer, was filled by yet another old student, Syed Azhar Ali. Raghubar Dayal's bursarial duties had been taken over by Mukarji, with Leather as Junior Bursar; and it was about this time that the needs of better library supervision, hitherto mainly entrusted to a clerk, were recognised by the formal appointment of a member of the staff, D. N. Bhattacharya, as Librarian. With these

replacements and redistributions of duties, supplemented by further temporary appointments in October, 1916, of two recent brilliant graduates of the College, K. K. Sen and Sheodhan Singh as pupil-teachers, the immediate teaching needs of the College continued to be met fairly satisfactorily. Further changes in the staff occurred in 1917, but note must first be taken of how student life had re-acted to the first effect of War conditions.

Lord Hardinge's spokesmanship for India in identifying her promptly and whole-heartedly with the cause of the Allies had been all the more readily acknowledged by Indians on account of the courageous way in which he had, a short time previously, associated the British administration with national sentiment in the matter of the South African Indian labour problem.[1] The response of the students, therefore, to the country's war-time needs was prompt and enthusiastic. Rudra could report that there was 'a regular war-fever in the College and many would have volunteered if organisations had existed to take them up.' Failing openings for combatant service, one section of the College found an invaluable sphere of usefulness with the Y.M.C.A.; and Sudhir Rudra, the Principal's elder son, who was on the point of going to Cambridge when the War broke out, was the first of some half-dozen Christian graduates and undergraduates who in the next few months were accepted for such work with the Indian troops in France. Their services were far-reaching,

[1] These two statesmanlike utterances of the Viceroy helped considerably to counteract that under-current of anarchist activity which had lately begun to rise to the surface of the national movement. St. Stephen's had an unfortunate association with one of the criminal cases arising out of it, in which a first year student and an ex-student, whose later career had been passed in Lahore, were both involved: but the measure of official confidence in the political soundness of the College was given in the insistence of the local authorities that it should retain under its own influence another lad, who was proved to have been utilised as a tool by the Anarchist party, and reclaim him, as it did, to a career of useful citizenship.

for in the letters which they helped the illiterate soldiery to write home they were able to check materially the pessimistic tone which in the early days threatened to react unfavourably on the morale of the recruiting districts.

In the College itself opportunities for any sort of training or usefulness were keenly taken up: as many as sixty students attended the Ambulance lectures that were arranged in 1915; a contribution of Rs. 150 was sent to Mrs. Hailey's Ladies' Work Party to be converted into Red Cross gifts, and packers' squads were organised in the same connection; and at the prize-giving in the spring of 1917 the prize-winners gave up the greater part of the value of their prizes for charitable war purposes.

That these activities were, at any rate for the more thoughtful, no mere superficial emotion, but based on the deepest ideals of true patriotism, is to be seen from some sentences of an address given by Sudhir Rudra to his fellow-Christian students shortly before he left the College:

> Our mother calls to us who are Christians, and says, 'Children, Christ, the King of Love, lived and died for you. Know and learn that love of His. Drink it in, with your life's being, then pour it forth into living acts of love and service. So shall my joy be complete in you, O my children.'

Among the general body, too, Rudra could point, in his 1915 report, to 'the growth of some unselfish interest in life, . . . a real interest in games; in the case of some a real intellectual interest in some special subject of study, a growing determination in others to face the moral problems of life which press them, a readiness in others again to do something to be of service to their fellow-students. The life of the students has been marked by increasing fellow-feeling and solidarity, and has in proportion been increasingly happy. Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians have begun to respect one another, I think, and are able to form a harmonious whole

in many College activities.' This spirit of service, 'of self-reliance combined with some sense of responsibility, a certain fine sense of honour and a certain feeling of homage to men who are upright and active in serving the College,' he attributes partly to the united staff, partly to the increase both of the residential element and of the Muhammadan and Christian numbers, and to the strengthening of corporate life contributed both by the hostel life and by the system of inter-class competitions in games and sports which had been introduced in the last year or two.

Indeed for the first few years of the War morale perceptibly improved all round, thanks to the start which it had been given. At the Annual Reunion in December, 1913 (when the chronicler of those days saw in the first use of the name *Stephanian* a happy augury of the *crown* of success in all undertakings), the old students had passed resolutions of thanks to the Home Societies and to Government for the stability now assured to the College both by the new staff cadre and by the building scheme and grants; and had undertaken, perhaps rather too optimistically, to raise a considerable contribution to the Building Fund. Again in January, 1914, the Bishop, in an appreciative note at his visitation, had recorded that, while he kept an open mind with regard to the plan of inviting non-Christian members of the staff to lecture on moral subjects, he rejoiced to learn from the Principal that it had resulted already in some exceedingly fearless preaching of Christian ideals from those who did not bear the Christian name. And by the end of the year after the War had started, Monk could write in allusion to pertinent criticism of 'Christian' Europe in the Indian press:

In St. Stephen's, thank God, we can no longer plead understaffing and overwork in extenuation of our failure to commend the Gospel to those committed to our charge; and

with a Christian staff now larger, in proportion to the student roll, than that of any other College in the country, we may well, as those to whom much has been given, expect to have much required of us. (*Delhi Mission News*, January, 1915.)

The article just quoted reveals a steady development of the social life of the College and its effects on character-building . . . 'debating societies and literary clubs slowly but surely helping alike to civilise poor men's sons hailing from mud-built villages and to provide for the young representatives of cultured families outlets for intellectual recreation and experiment'; the occasional dinners or 'socials,' too, a potent influence for good; and though orthodox Hindu sentiment still required the retention of feeding arrangements in Hindu hands, there was an increasingly noticeable diminution of caste-prejudice. ('What does it matter? We are all Stephanians here,' was the retort to some shyness shown about touching the cooking vessels of a sick student.) Similarly games were being steadily 'generalised' and the chronic tendency (derived from a bad tradition in school tournaments) to specialise the teams, on almost a 'gladiatorial' basis, for the benefit of a few privileged individuals, was being persistently fought, even to the extent of cricket being suspended for some years as being too expensive in time and money and contributing too little to general athletic opportunities. 'As a result, the least athletic are not now afraid of joining in games, and there is a far more widespread use of the facilities afforded for healthy outdoor exercise.' The objective held in view by those directing these activities is expressed sufficiently clearly in the following sentences, and would stand equally true for the present day:

Both in games and in the Debating and Literary Societies the deliberate postponement of immediate but over-nursed brilliance to slower but more spontaneous growth is resulting in the steady eliciting of powers of leadership and initiative

that must eventually tell incalculably on public life. As is observable in recent political advance, administrative organisations, such as committees, councils, etc., seem to offer peculiar pitfalls to the national character; but we are finding that, with these growing minds, provided the personal contact is maintained intimate and persistent, we are able to divert the earliest expressions of public spirit away from mere sessional activities over constitutional and formal points, into the more profitable and self-dependent channels of administrative and executive duties, where the realities of authority and responsibility are soon appreciated as of far more value than the mere titles of office.

It was in those days, too (1915–16), that opportunities for social service, already sought out and offered to the students by Ghose and Sharp on the lines of the earlier tradition, were now organised by the former into the regular activities of a Social Service League. At the outset they mainly took the form of charitable relief in connection with Ghose's city parish; but when later, at the end of 1916, the pressure of pastoral duties caused him to hand over the direction to Ireland, the League gradually developed those features which characterise it at the present day, namely, Night Schools for poor boys, and visiting and helping the poorer patients in the civil hospital. It needs to be emphasised, perhaps, that though demonstrable results have been by no means negligible, the League attaches more value to its educative function, and that the primary intention of all its enterprises has been to awaken in each generation the students' own consciences and initiative in response to the needs around them.

In the religious life of the College a particularly important experiment was conceived and carried through, after long and careful preparation, in December, 1915, by P. N. F. Young, who since Mukarji's marriage that year had added to his pastoral care of the Christian students the superintendentship of the main hostel. Bishop Pakenham Walsh of Assam was

invited to visit the College and to conduct for some days a series of intensive Christian addresses and of personal interviews with all who cared to seek them, with a view to eliciting that individual consideration of the claims of religion for which the normal routine of a College provides few suitable opportunities. Of actual public professions of faith in Christ as a result there was only one, and the subsequent history of the young man showed all too sadly what a mass of prejudice and misconception had still to be overcome before minds obsessed with the claims of 'community' would concede to individuals the right of personal choice in matters of religion. But the general interest and attention were striking and the deepening of concern with spiritual things undoubted.

In matters academic University results continued at their usual satisfactory level. A slight drop in the percentage of passes in 1916 had to be attributed to the reduction in the English teaching strength; but as a set-off some brilliant places were taken that year by past Mathematical scholars of the College in the Civil Engineering Competitive Examinations at Rurki. In the immediately preceding years the College had won the first place and only vacancy in the Provincial Judicial Service Examination, and the State Scholarship for study abroad had been awarded to G. C. Chatterji, the first graduate of the College, and first Christian student in North India to obtain this distinction. His subject was Philosophy, in which St. Stephen's was for some time the only College in the University affording M.A. teaching. Numbers also grew steadily, to an extent that threatened an undue burden on the class-lecturer system with the missionary staff so reduced. But after rising to 253 for 1915–16, with 105 in residence, they dropped to below 240 for 1917–18, with 99 in residence, and continued at about that level for the next few years.

Taken all round, in fact, the early War years, in spite of the sacrifices necessitated on the staff side, served to bring

out the inherent strength of the College. The building scheme perforce sank more and more into the background as the prolongation of the War destroyed any hope of immediate construction, and the pressure on residential space was met by the opening of a new branch hostel for twenty or so students in hired buildings under Khub Ram's superintendence, when he returned from England at the end of 1915. For the rest, both staff and students settled down to making the best of the possibilities that lay to hand, with results that the above outline will have shown to be sufficiently creditable.

At the Annual Reunion in December, 1916, an interesting little ceremony took place in connection with Rudra's completion of thirty years' continuous service in the College. The existing generation had observed the actual date, June 6th, with a suitable function involving appreciative speeches and a presentation; but the feeling that a wider circle of old pupils and colleagues would desire an opportunity of expressing their gratitude for all that he had been to, and done for, the College resulted in the presentation, at the annual gathering, of a contribution of £150 towards the expenses of his son Sudhir, who, by then, was studying Economics at Cambridge. He and Dina Nath Gaur, then reading at Ridley Hall for Ordination, made with G. C. Chatterji a trio of Christian graduates whom the College was all the more proud to have representing it at Cambridge, in view of the previous service of the first two with the Y.M.C.A. in France. The College also felt that it shared some reflected glory from Rudra's other son, Ajit, who, volunteering for France with a detachment from his school, Trinity College, Kandy, after a very fine record in the ranks with British troops was one of the first Indian recipients of the King's Commission in a Punjab regiment.

With 1917 the strain began to tell. Ghose's health broke down, and on his return from sick-leave the claims of pastoral

work compelled him to give up finally the incidental, but invaluable, teaching work he had been doing in the College for the past four years. Previous to that he had been a whole-time member of the staff from 1898 to 1910, having been the first old student to be taken on to it. The mark that he left on many sides of college life, not least in the social service, is remembered with gratitude by many old colleagues and pupils, who are glad to have him still as an authority to refer to, in his retirement at Dehra Dun, on fast-fading details of the College's past. In the spring of 1917, too, Monk, by then the last English layman on the staff, took the occasion of his furlough being due to get his release and take a commission in the Indian Army Reserve of Officers, and went off to Egypt early in the next year. His place as Vice-Principal was filled by P. N. F. Young, who handed over the main hostel to Ireland; Mukarji, already Bursar, took over the presidentship of games; and a temporary incumbent for the branch hostel during the winter of 1917–18 was found in Dr. Percy Dearmer who, accompanied by his wife, was in India on Y.M.C.A. work. Their joint contribution to the social life of the College enhanced the value of the stimulating and enlarging outlook he brought to bear on the teaching, in his lectures and addresses on both religious and cultural subjects. Another recruit for the English work was also secured in October, 1917, in answer to Rudra's urgent call for assistance, in the Rev. A. Humphrey, of King's College, London.

Opportunities for military service had by then been extended to the student class. In his report on 1917, Rudra was constrained to point out, with reference to the mention by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, as Chancellor of the University, of the splendid war services rendered by graduates belonging to the Gaur Brahmins, the South-eastern Jats and the Ahirs, that the Chancellor probably did not know that they were old students of St. Stephen's, which was no longer within

his territorial jurisdiction as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Besides this work of raising regiments performed by these old students, two undergraduates, both Christians, had joined the University Signalling Section and in due course saw active service in Mesopotamia. (One of these, Harnam Das Bhanote, later received a well-deserved nomination into the I.C.S.) 'The War,' Rudra comments, 'is effecting marvellous changes in thought and aspiration, and uniting people for common service.'

The close of 1917 brought a grievous loss to the College in the passing of its Founder and first Principal, Canon Allnutt.[1] Although later years, after he had left the College, had drawn him away from direct educational activity to all the administrative burdens of the headship of the Mission, he had never ceased to be regarded as one of the foremost educationists of the Punjab, and his close connection, both as Head of the Mission and later as the first Chairman of its Governing Body, with the College which he had called into being was cherished alike by the staff and by innumerable old pupils. It would be impossible to summarise here in any adequate way all that his life meant, not only to the Church in Delhi but to a far wider sphere of those who loved and revered him; but the full story may be found in the memoir published a few years after his death (*Allnutt of Delhi*, by C. H. Martin, S.P.C.K.). Similarly, it is hard to select from among the many tributes paid to his memory in speeches and writing by men of both races and all creeds. But perhaps Ghose's address at the graveside, when large numbers of every rank and creed and race in the city of Delhi had turned out to see him to his last resting-place, expresses best what chiefly should be said of such a life:

[1] This distinction had been conferred on him as one of the original members of the Chapter of Lahore Cathedral instituted by Bishop Lefroy in 1910.

During a life of nearly seventy years, he never strove for a selfish or a personal end. A confidant of statesmen, a learned man among the learned, a councillor of the rich, a guide of those seeking the paths of religion and piety, a champion of the poor, a protector of the widow, a father to the fatherless. —such was he whose mortal remains we now consign to the dust. But we know that no life ends in the grave. The trees planted by him will bear fruit for generations, and from their seeds will grow many similar trees. Brethren, let us thank God for the life he gave to our city. Let us pray that its place may not remain vacant. Above all, let us pray that we who remain behind may have grace to follow in the footsteps of our late teacher.

When the Armistice came the College shared the general disillusionment of hopes of an early return to normal conditions. Tardy demobilisation and the need for furlough delayed the return of Sharp and Monk for many months yet. An experiment was made in May, 1918, of appointing a lady, Miss Elton, temporarily on the English staff; and other temporary appointments helped to carry on the teaching after Humphrey had left in February, 1919, and Leather in October to take a College principalship in Bengal. With the departure of the latter the College lost a brilliant teacher of Mathematics, who in association with Mukarji had built up a great reputation for St. Stephen's in his special subject, and had also, during these War years, proved a successful teacher of English as well. He had endeared himself to many students, both Christian and non-Christian, by his intimate personal association with them, especially when sharing their life in the main hostel in the years before his marriage; and his going made a real gap in the staff ranks.

It was not so much the internal conditions that constituted the strain of those days as the general atmosphere, which can best be conveyed by words written at the time. Rudra's report dated January, 1919, after expressing profound thankfulness for the cessation of the War, gives a regular catalogue

of external events that were 'compelling the youths in the College to think and re-create their ideals of life in a way that they never felt the need of doing before':

Happenings like Mr. Montagu's visit, the publication of the Chelmsford-Montagu Report, the discussions of the same in the Press and by various public bodies, the activities of the Special Congress at Bombay, the Moderates' Conference, and finally the session of the great Indian National Congress in Delhi itself last December, as well as the terrible epidemic of influenza which gripped the city for about a month during October and November, added to famine conditions of life this cold weather.

During the influenza epidemic the Social Service League had made itself felt in the city by being the first in the field and earning the thanks of the local authorities for the lead it gave. Similarly, a sense of responsibility was still being successfully evoked by Mukarji in the games. But on the top of the old ideals of service a fresh set of conceptions were beginning to intrude themselves into student thought and rocks could be seen ahead:

The ideas of self-determination and freedom within the limits that the College can allow have so fascinated the students that what was once their own rule of compulsory membership of some of their own clubs is now being discussed as to its suitability.

The coming years are going to be years very different from the apathetic past. They will be full of interest like the years of adolescence, full of promise yet full of danger.

Then comes an allusion to an issue that had recently cropped up in connection with Mission policy and caused some anxiety, the demand for a 'Conscience Clause' as a condition of educational grants-in-aid. Rudra spoke for his colleagues in the characteristic views he expressed on its relation to the immediate problems before the College:

I do not think that the Christian Church can fulfil its

Mission if it withdraws from College work, 'conscience clause' or no 'conscience clause.' The educational activity in India is going to increase ten-fold and acquire a tremendous momentum. Neo-Hindu and Neo-Muslim organisations, besides the non-religious State organisations, are going to create men with ideals according to their types of life. There will be a real struggle between these and the ideal type of the Christian life. The Christian life, however, is going to win in the long run, provided Christian colleges for the youths of India continue even with a 'conscience clause,' for the Christ-life, the weakest in one sense, is the strongest of all.

I have written this because we must now decide whether we are going forward with our scheme for building the College in the New City. The Government of India is assuming that we mean to carry our scheme through.

For the year 1919, with its distressing events, it is best again to let the words stand that were written by Rudra at the time. Whether endorsed or not in later perspectives, they represent what the College was thinking and feeling in those days:

The prolonged administration of martial law in the Punjab produced a feeling of horror, and it is difficult to deny that the national consciousness grew at a rapid rate, and the estrangement between English and Indian also grew equally rapidly. The future seemed to be dark indeed, for the awful tragedy that was taking place was the destruction of mutual confidence and goodwill between the two races. This fact was being indelibly burnt into them. It will be easy to imagine the difficult conditions under which we had to work. Our task in this College, however, was made comparatively easy on account of Mr. Andrews' signal services in the interest of the people of India both in India and elsewhere, and on account of the implicit faith of the students in the management. The attention with which the students listened to the religious instruction given was as great as ever. There has probably been a greater interest in the subject of religion, as the upheaval of thought and action has been greater than before. We seem to be travelling now from the impassive, inchoate stage of indifference to something more active and definite and decisive.

The external outlook, Rudra admits, had since been brightened by the royal proclamation of amnesty to political prisoners and other measures and signs of reconciliation. But within the College, though the relations between students and staff were as cordial as ever, he has to confess that owing partly to a considerable amount of sickness, partly to the dislocation of University work on account of martial law in Lahore, the morale of the College had suffered. There was a great deal of interruption in work and slackness in games, to which was added dislocation due to depletion and changes in the staff. However, there was no serious drop in academic output. The 1917 and 1918 University results had been as satisfactory as usual, and for 1919 there was a long list of first places and first classes. The College also had the honour that year of being chosen by the University as one of the centres for its new Honours School in Mathematics, thanks to the high mathematical reputation which Leather had so largely helped to win for it. His loss in October was happily replaced the next May by the return as a teacher of one of his most brilliant old pupils, Ram Behari.

Other reinforcements were by then arriving. P. N. F. Young got back from a long-earned furlough shortly after Miss Elton left in February, 1920. On his return, Ireland was with great regret released for district work, but his place was taken for a year, till school needs claimed him, by a Brotherhood probationer, Rev. S. H. Thomas (Pembroke), who had arrived in January. Sharp, too, whose return had been delayed by malaria, contracted on service in Salonika, brought back with the New Year not only his own wonted energy and enthusiasm but also an additional strength to the staff, as well as to the social circle, in the person of his wife, an Oxford graduate, whose previous teaching experience provided invaluable help for several months. Monk, demobil-

ised from Egypt in the spring, got back with his wife in October; and with the English element now back at something like normal strength again, the re-united team could at last look forward to a fresh start.

CHAPTER XIII

RECOVERY

THE story of next year or two is one of recovery of normal conditions within the College, but of complete revolution in its external relations. It was during these years that St. Stephen's, hitherto one of the original Colleges of the 'affiliating' University of the Punjab, became one of the original constituent colleges of its offspring, the 'teaching' University of Delhi. Fortunately, the new responsibilities and opportunities thus incurred were met by a rapid recovery from the effects of the War years and a successful resistance to the disruptive political movements which immediately followed them.

Gandhi's first non-co-operation movement was launched in the course of 1920, and patriotic minds among the Indian staff, as much as among the students, had to face the immensely difficult decision of whether to respond or not to his policy of boycotting not merely Government educational institutions but any that received Government grants-in-aid. All were naturally deeply stirred by the appeal, and Rudra was at pains to explain to supporters of the College in England that it was not a purely destructive political movement, still less, at any rate in original intention, either anti-foreign or anti-Christian. But it was frankly a call to repudiation of the State organism as then constituted, and, in effect, presented the old alternative between revolution and evolution. A sentence or two from Rudra's reports will sufficiently indicate

both the principles which guided the College in its policy and the danger that it chiefly feared, as conceived by one whose judicious wisdom (too often shallowly interpreted as indecision) was never more apparent than during those critical days. 'The principle of *liberty of conscience*,' he wrote in January, 1921, 'has been upheld strenuously, but *precipitate mass action* has been strongly deprecated at the same time. . . . I cannot in the least predict how things will develop. We may fall, as other colleges have fallen. But it will at least not be from any thoughtless precipitancy of youth.' A month or two later, at the annual prize-giving, a purely domestic affair that year on account of public conditions, the terms in which he congratulated the students on the way in which they had faced the question of non-co-operation bring out at its clearest the truly educational outlook with which he and his colleagues were envisaging the situation:

It was well to be confronted with such an issue, it was well to be agitated, and it was well also to decide as you did. During this precious time of youth afforded for study, it was impossible to advise you in any other way than we did, and I am grateful for the response of the College, which stood steady. This College would never stand against the imperative call of Conscience, but our advice was, 'Be quite sure that your action is based upon a deep conviction.' Such advice could only lead to absence of mass action. You have shown yourselves that you will not be carried away by emotion, but will control your emotion by careful thought. Eleven men left the College and have not returned. Mass action would have led to return, which is a phenomenon we have seen all over North India. Such action leads to weakening of the will and not the strengthening of it. What we want to-day is force of character acquired by the schooling of the will, for which opportunities are afforded you in this College.

But the chief note of Rudra's fatherly allocution to the students on that occasion was one of frank reproach. Morale, as already admitted, had suffered badly in the last eighteen

months, and statistics of recent internal examinations, 'painful to reflect upon,' afforded him a text on which to base a brief but effective sermon:

If we are going to do any good to our country we should be careful to recognise that these statistics do reveal a lack of earnestness of purpose in pursuing our studies by careful planning and following up the same with unswerving diligence, steadiness and will-power. It would be utterly wrong to lay the balance of these results to the single cause of mental upset due to political issues. It is of the utmost importance to recognise our personal and national defect of want of stern moral purpose in inducing these results and not flatter ourselves that we are the best of men. If we do not school ourselves to gain proficiency in our studies while at College, we are losing the golden chance of laying the foundation of a strong character which is a vital factor in the battle of life, namely the training of our will by daily work to acquire excellence in our intellectual work.

In the review of College activities, athletic and social as well as intellectual, with which he illustrated and reinforced his point that for the student true patriotism meant primarily the seizing of all opportunities for the building up of character, he made it clear how much lee-way had to be made up on the student side; while in his report to Cambridge he indicated the following chief problems of policy and administration that confronted the staff.

Although University results had continued to be satisfactory, numbers had fallen from 245 in 1919 to only 230 or so in 1920, not on account of lack of public confidence, but because St. Stephen's had not been able to extend its science department, as the neighbouring Hindu College had been, to meet the popular preference for these subjects. Hostel provision, too, was short again, since the branch hostel rented in the civil station, which the Sharps had taken over on their arrival, had had to be converted into a residence for themselves when the Monks resumed their old quarters in the



THE ALLNUTT HOSTEL

building: and the still undiminished demand for residence had therefore to be met by a bold project for borrowing capital and building on the land attached to Maitland House. Again, in spite of the recovery in English teaching strength, the College was still understaffed, for Thomas went over to the School in March, 1921 and a Wrangler was needed in his place for the Honours School of Mathematics, and lecturers were wanted in Economics, and in Logic and Psychology. Rudra was also exercised in conscience at the way the College was having practically to exploit the invaluable services of Mrs. Sharp in English psychology on an honorary basis.

The immediate needs stressed were the building scheme and an increase in staff. The appointment of K. C. Nag in May, 1921, supplied the demands in respect of Economics and the junior Philosophy (Logic and Psychology), in which latter he received during the following cold weather the temporary assistance of an old Stephanian, A. T. Ozmund. But the Mathematics requirements had to be met for several years yet by successive temporary appointments of the permanent mathematics teachers' more brilliant pupils, K. K. Sen, Parmanand Jain, and Kanwar Bahadur, each of whom had to be released to take up important posts in the public services, or in education. Accessions came to the English teaching in October, 1921, with the local and temporary appointment of R. C. Lorimer, a graduate of St. Andrew's, and late of the Indian Police, and the arrival of R. S. Capron (Trinity), a Cambridge 'probationer' (the term now preferred by the College to 'short service,' in the interests of continuity), who was joined a year later by a contemporary from Trinity and fellow-probationer, P. J. Scott. This infusion of fresh life from Cambridge produced, particularly in Maitland House (then shared by the Brotherhood, who had sold their city abode and were still undecided where to settle next), a rene-

wal of youth for the personnel of the whole Mission which helped it not a little to recover from the strain of the War years.

Similarly, the building project went ahead with speed. After one or two false starts an exceedingly able design was obtained, in which no small part of the satisfaction was derived from its being the work of an old Stephanian, just then starting his career as an architect and engineer, R. N. Mathur, to whom the College has been under obligation also for much subsequent advice and generosity. The building provided in its upper storeys up-to-date rooms for some forty hostellers and a suite for the Superintendent, besides arrangements for common messing which it was hoped would particularly attract more well-to-do city students, for whom the accommodation provided in the older hostels, originally with village students mainly in view, was not altogether suitable. The ground floor of the building consisted of shops from the rent of which it was intended both to meet the interest on the borrowed capital (Rs. 1,40,000) and to build up a sinking fund. Unfortunately the trade-slump intervened and these hopes were not realised on the scale anticipated, so that the building still remains a considerable liability in the College finances. Construction was commenced by Mathur in the summer of 1921, with occasional and much valued advice from the architect-member of the Brotherhood, Rev. A. Coore, while from the College side the business direction fell mainly on Monk, who was in charge that summer on account of Rudra's absence on sick leave. Owing to unavoidable delays it was not till the spring of 1922 that the hostel could be formally opened, Capron being appointed Superintendent. The opportunity was taken to commemorate the Founder's memory[1] by giving his name to the building.

[1] That same year the observance of the anniversary of his death 7th December, as Founder's Day was marked by the presentation,

Thus in a couple of years the two immediate needs referred to, staff and building, had been well met. Indeed only a few years after the opening of the Allnutt Hostel the numbers of resident students reached their highest peak and thereafter, for a number of external reasons, began to decline. The ideal of as largely a residential college as possible is still cherished as far the best for full educational advantages, but its practicability, at any rate in the present location of the College, has come to be recognised as limited. For the moment, however, it was of the greatest importance and value that, while the total numbers rose from 235 in 1921 to 263 in 1922, the hostel numbers rose more than proportionately, from 111 to 135. This ensured the predominance of that 'boarder' element which, as was recognised from the earliest years, told most in the creation of *esprit de corps* owing to closer association with the resident staff. Morale therefore quickly recovered, except for a certain tendency towards party spirit always present in student life to which recent relaxations of discipline had allowed undue scope. But in view of similar tendencies in the national political life it was not altogether a disadvantage that, as a result, the more thoughtful student leaders had now to be trained, by the guidance and counsel of their friends and advisers on the staff, to concentrate on promotion of co-operation in public service and to check any spirit of personal ambition and intrigue. The lessons thus learnt, in games and societies and the Social Service League, are showing themselves to this day in the wise impartiality and public leadership exhibited by

by the Old Stephanian Association, of the very striking posthumous portrait by Mr. A. Davies. For the discovery of his ability to produce, merely from photographs, such a true and living likeness, the College is greatly indebted to the Founder's sister, Miss A. B. Allnutt, who also commemorated his memory with the beautiful copy of Holman Hunt's 'Light of the World' which now hangs appositely below the familiar text over the dais in the hall.

many a young old student holding some responsible position now in the services or in education.

This internal re-conditioning made a big demand on the time and energies of the re-united staff. Simultaneously they had collectively and, for the senior members individually, to direct much anxious attention to what was happening outside the College in regard to the projected Delhi University. The long series of conferences and negotiations which ended in the inauguration of the new University on 1st May, 1922, is reviewed in the next chapter, but in one respect it had a momentous personal bearing on the internal life of the College. The strain of the War and of the non-co-operation movement had latterly been telling very obviously on Rudra, who had by now reached the age of sixty. The restoration of his team to full numbers had brought him a considerable measure of relief, but this had unfortunately been offset by a regrettable amount of tension in the negotiations with other colleges over the formation of the University, to which must be partly attributed his breakdown in the summer of 1921. His strength was no longer sufficient to maintain the old efficiency of administration, even though Monk, who had become Vice-Principal again, relieved him of a good deal of routine work, and he confessed in his Report to Cambridge in January, 1922, that he was no longer able to stand the strain of class teaching. But backed, needless to say, by all, he would not relinquish uncompleted the task he had now set himself, of seeing the new University safely established, and St. Stephen's given its due place therein. In his covering letter to the Report mentioned, he was at last able to announce that the University Bill was on the point of being formally passed by the Legislative Assembly, and expresses a little of what that meant to him:

I cannot help thinking of the dream of the Founders of the Mission, of an Alexandria on the banks of the Jumna. When

the Cambridge Mission came to Delhi nobody thought it to be a possibility. But the indication of the Divine purpose seems to be that the opportunity which is afforded to the Mission through St. Stephen's College should not be lost. I plead for the grasping of the opportunity that has come to us.

And so he sounds his *Nunc Dimittis*:

I believe I have finished my work now and have co-operated with the Cambridge Mission to the best of my ability and thus served my country.

He remained at his post to see the new régime inaugurated in May, and at the beginning of June took leave for nine months preparatory to retirement, leaving Monk to officiate in the interim.

CHAPTER XIV

THE UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

THE conception of a University of Delhi was probably first formed in the swift imaginations of St. Stephen's College staff, when at the Durbar of 1911, they heard the Royal announcement of Delhi's new status. That the Imperial Capital should ultimately have a university of its own seemed inevitable, and the position which St. Stephen's would hold in it was one of unlimited possibilities. As has been seen, plans were immediately formed for removing the College to the new city, and equipping it to meet in any case its vastly increased opportunities, and the application for a site and grants was met by the Government in the generous way already recorded. Official designs took longer to formulate, owing to natural delays and preoccupation with more urgent questions; but by January, 1915, Allnutt, in writing of hopes that the site to be given to the College would be an ideal one for its purpose, was able to add:

> A large block of the new city is set apart for higher educational purposes, and eventually it is the intention of the Government of India to found a Delhi University. As its buildings will be on the ground adjacent to our own buildings, we shall be, as first in the field, in a very favourable position.

The idea at first entertained was the establishment of a Government college for some 500 students on one side of a triangular block bisected by what is now Curzon Road, but which was actually named Great College Street in the first

layout; a site for St. Stephen's was allotted on the opposite side; and in some indeterminate future a university building was contemplated at the base of the triangle. It was on this general basis that plans were first drawn up, progressing in the case of St. Stephen's as far as detailed drawings for a most impressive group of buildings. As the war dragged on, however, all such projects were definitely held up, and by the time that peace was declared the defects and disadvantages of that particular scheme had become sufficiently obvious to call for a complete reconsideration of the proposals. In the first place the original site and plans allowed insufficiently for the inclusion of other colleges or for natural expansion; it was also now realised that it would not be of any great educational advantage to place a large body of students in such close proximity to the distractions of the capital; but the chief deterrent was the enormous rise in the cost of material and building in the new city. These considerations caused the recommendations of a special official committee, which reported in 1919, to be practically still-born, by no means to the regret of the existing local colleges, who would have found in the new Government College, which was the central proposal, such competition as would have seriously limited their development and usefulness.

Meantime two other influences of even greater weight were affecting the general question. In the first place the Punjab University, for good reasons of its own, was endeavouring to counteract the more obvious defects of the affiliating system on which it was founded by requiring all M.A. and Honours B.A. work to be concentrated in Lahore. The effect of such a policy on the Delhi colleges, more particularly on one with such a staff as St. Stephen's, would have been intolerable. Simultaneously, the report of the Calcutta University Commission issued in 1919 had crystallised the general dissatisfaction with merely affiliating and

examining universities and promoted a movement for a new type of unitary and teaching university, such as rapidly came into being in the United Provinces and elsewhere.

From the first of the above considerations therefore there arose an urgent local demand for the realisation of a Delhi University: and on the strength of the latter an explicit proposal was made in September, 1919, by Mr. (later Sir Henry) Sharp, then Secretary for Education in the Government of India. Sir Henry from the beginning had very clear ideas as to what he wanted, namely a unitary university of the type of the recently constituted University of Dacca, one in which the University would take up all post-Intermediate work, while the Intermediate students and their tuition would be left in the hands of the existing colleges. The implications of this scheme, especially as it would affect the colleges, were not fully perceived at the time, and at a committee consisting of certain officials and representatives of the three Delhi colleges, held in December, Sir Henry's proposal was welcomed and it was still confidently expected that the University buildings would be erected in New Delhi. The educational authorities of the Mission turned to a consideration of this programme and during 1920, a scheme was worked out for a post-Intermediate college of 120 students, with four hostels and a staff of eight lecturers.

Then came a long pause and for about a year nothing was done. This was perhaps just as well, as it gave time for consideration. It even produced a proposal from Lahore to confer a limited autonomy on the Delhi colleges. This, however, produced a reply in May, 1921 that the proposal had elicited no enthusiasm. Meanwhile, though as late at June, 1921, Rudra was writing quite cheerfully that the Hindu College and St. Stephen's would, under the new University, cease as such to exist, at the end of that month a warning note is struck. It had begun to be perceived that it would

be disastrous if the University were to have the effect of breaking up the corporate life of the College so carefully cherished for years. Further, various suspicions were beginning to show their heads. On the one hand was the feeling, shared by the leaders of the Hindu College, that undue official influence was a danger that would dominate the University and stereotype education. On the other hand the Hindu College was beginning to fear that it would have insufficient weight in the counsels of the University. There was tension and distrust. To meet these two dangers Monk, as Acting Principal, proposed that an effort should be made to bring together the various college authorities with the purpose of formulating an agreed scheme as a basis of negotiation with Government. After several abortive attempts and some misunderstanding a meeting of the representatives of the three colleges was held at the end of June, and at this meeting the crucial demand was made that 'at least two-thirds of the controlling body of the University should be representatives of the existing colleges'; and further that it should be this controlling body that should decide the times of the move to the new city and of the separation of Intermediate and Degree classes. The colleges were beginning to assert themselves. Indeed by the autumn of this year a great step towards their protection was taken when, in response to a memorandum drawn up by representatives of the colleges, the Government agreed to take them into its confidence before producing the draft of the University Bill. Nevertheless, by the end of November, when the Bill was in the drafting stage, it had become clear that if the colleges were to preserve their privileges, their corporate life and character, in the new University, a very definite and firm stand would have to be taken. Sir H. Sharp quite definitely wanted a unitary scheme; St. Stephen's was equally clear that unless the colleges, as such, formed constituent units of the University, all that it

had stood for in the past would be lost. Consequently, representatives of the colleges met Sir H. Sharp, and after considerable discussion he gave verbal assurance that the principles pressed for would be safe-guarded. This did not give a sufficient sense of security and a meeting of the Governing Body of the College was held which drew up resolutions stating the conditions under which, with the expected concurrence of the Mission authorities in England, the College was prepared to co-operate. These conditions summarily stated were that the College should form a constituent part of the University; that its identity should not be merged in that of the University but that it should preservc its individual and corporate character; and in particular that its religious teaching and character should be preserved. Further, that the academic policy of the University should be mainly controlled by its teaching staff, and that members of the College staff should be eligible for all University appointments. These resolutions were forwarded to Mr. Sharp, and appear to have had a considerable influence on the drafting. On 2nd January, 1922, a meeting of the University Committee was held with Sir Muhammad Shafi, the Member for Education, in the chair, at which the colleges were assured that every effort had been made to draft the Bill in conformity with their views. Nevertheless, they were on tenterhooks until the Bill was passed by both houses of the Legislature by the end of February, and it was seen that in all essentials the end had been achieved and that the cherished corporate life of the College would go on under new conditions which seemed full of hope for educational progress and improvement.

The main reason which had thus caused the Government, rather surprisingly perhaps, to concede the demands of the local colleges, was the all too familiar one of financial stringency. The desirability of a University of Delhi had

been accepted, but its establishment in the form favoured officially was outside the range of practical finance: there were no funds available either for central buildings or for a University teaching staff. The Government was therefore glad to acknowledge the colleges, at least for the time being, as teaching units, and to accept their offer to bring the University into being as they stood, on their existing sites: it being understood that Government accepted for its part the obligation to proceed with the provision of sites, grants, and maintenance of supplementary University teaching staff, as soon as the financial situation allowed. Unfortunately the Inchcape Retrenchment Committee, in the course of its investigations the next year, expressed such drastic views on the question whether a university was needed in Delhi at all, that the cogent educational arguments which had justified its creation were apparently driven out of the official mind and the understanding with the colleges forgotten. The subsequent march of events is rather for the future historian of the Delhi University to trace: in brief, in place of the sites and grants which the colleges had been led to expect in order to enable the University to make good, there followed a succession of annual allotments of inadequate maintenance funds and a constant complaint that the colleges and the city of Delhi were not doing what they had, in fact, never undertaken to do, their resources being strained to the utmost by the effort to keep the constituent colleges up to the mark. Protests and reminders proved of no avail till eventually, in 1927, the University declared its inability to balance its budget and so forced the Government to give it the attention of a special Enquiry Committee. The findings of this Committee were, at any rate in principle as distinct from immediate practical application, satisfactory to the College authorities regarding the issues that had been exercising them. In the first place the

tendency that still lingered in the official mind towards an ultimate merging of the colleges in the University was finally repudiated. Not only was their position as teaching units clearly recognised, but their staffs were also conceded the right of full association in even the highest grades of instruction. The crucial importance of this last admission for ensuring a supply of first-class recruits for college teaching is obvious. Secondly, the finding of a university site among the disused buildings of the 'Temporary Capital' to the north of Old Delhi, instead of in the prohibitively expensive area of New Delhi (an alternative which had been mooted as early as 1923 to facilitate Government's discharge of its obligations), was at last agreed to after years of inter-departmental procrastination, and Old Viceregal Lodge indicated as the eventual location. At last, therefore, the College knew definitely where its future home was ultimately to be.

On the third issue before the Enquiry Committee, namely the inclusion of the Intermediate classes for an indefinite period in the University, the decision so to retain them, though perhaps unavoidable under the actual circumstances, ought nevertheless to be regarded, educationally, as a confession of failure. One of the strongest points made by the Calcutta University Commission had been the need to relegate the Intermediate classes to their proper place in the *secondary* stage of education, both in the interests of the virtual schoolboys who comprised them and of the University classes on whom their presence acted as a drag. In the Delhi University Act therefore it had been expressly provided that after a certain term of years the Intermediate classes should be dropped. Strongly endorsing this outlook, both Rudra and Monk had stressed, with all the emphasis they could command, the consequent obligation laid upon the Mission. In his farewell report to Cambridge for 1922 Rudra puts forward the two main reasons for this view:

Firstly, a strong Intermediate College will strengthen the University section of St. Stephen's College; and secondly, for sound missionary work and influencing the life and character of the students for good and laying those foundations securely, we need to get hold of the young between the ages of 14 and 18, the time when they will be at an Intermediate College.

He even goes so far as to add:

This is even of greater importance in some ways than our contribution to University life.

Monk, whose work had lain practically throughout his service with the Intermediate classes, developed the implications in a comprehensive scheme for the re-organisation of the whole 'lay-out' of education in the Mission, which he took with him to England on his furlough in 1924, to lay before the Home Committees. Unfortunately, he miscalculated the conditional character of the approval given by the Mission Council and by the Governing Body. The separation of the Intermediate classes had always been put forward along with an assumed extension of the Degree course from two years to three. The College now decided that, given the degree students for three years as suggested, it was prepared to forgo its influence over them at the earlier stage; otherwise not. Public disinclination to incur another year's fees in the attainment of the degree, it was held, made the three-year course an impracticable proposition to put before the University bodies; and it was also only too clear that the authorities of some colleges would not be able to contemplate lightly the prospect of losing the fee-income from their large Intermediate classes. The application of the original provision of the Act was therefore deferred and deferred, till the Enquiry Committee at last tacitly accepted the situation and the Intermediate boy retains his status as a student of the Delhi University. This is not the place to

discuss the bearing of that fact on national education: but two comments might be made in passing. It is quite a possibility, now that a minimum age for matriculation has been dropped, that the 'child-matriculate' will soon supersede the 'child-bride' as one of India's major social problems; on the other hand the anomaly has had to be accepted for some years now of 'undergraduates' in St. Stephen's College, if in the Intermediate classes and resident in one of the hostels, being required to attend a compulsory daily period of 'supervised prep'!

To revert to the immediate effects on St. Stephen's, personal and institutional, of the passing of the Delhi University Act. For the transitional period that had to intervene before the authorities of the University could be constituted, powers were vested in the Vice-Chancellor and Provisional Executive Council, on which latter the College was represented by Monk, Sen and P. N. F. Young, with Western also by virtue of his position as Chairman of the Governing Body. The Vice-Chancellor appointed to direct the fortunes of the infant University was Dr. Hari Singh Gour, D.C.L., LL.D., an old Downing man, a member of the Legislative Assembly, and a jurist of more than Indian repute. A very vigorous personality, it was unfortunate that he was not a resident of Delhi and only able to be present for a small portion of the year. However, the Act permitted the appointment of a Rector to carry out most of the functions of the Vice-Chancellor in the latter's absence, and the Chancellor (the Viceroy) was happily advised to select for this office Western, who had succeeded to the headship of the Mission on Allnutt's death. It would be impossible to calculate all that the University owes to his immense ability and indefatigable industry during the early formative months of its existence, both in the Executive and in the Academic Councils, over each of which he presided.

To constitute an Academic Council it was necessary not

merely to 'recognise' the staffs of the colleges as teachers, but also to provide for University, as distinct from College, teaching by the appointment of professors and readers. It was agreed that none of the existing staffs were academically of sufficient repute to take the rank of Professor, but that several might without impropriety become readers. Accordingly fifteen readers in all were appointed from the three colleges. This was a larger number than for some reasons was desirable, but on the other hand it was felt to be unwise for St. Stephen's to appear unduly dominant. Out of the fifteen, eight fell to the Mission College, as follows: English, C. B. Young; Philosophy, N. K. Sen; Economics, K. C. Nag; History, P. N. F. Young; Mathematics, S. N. Mukarji; Sanskrit, Lachhmi-Dhar; Arabic, Abdur Rahman; Physics, Khub Ram. With these appointments, and with the co-option of Sharp, the College held a majority on the Academic Council, which put it for the moment in a strong position. This was increased in the course of the next year, 1923, by the appointment of P. N. F. Young as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and of Khub Ram as Dean of the Faculty of Science. As a matter of fact Khub Ram was relinquished to the University as one of its scanty whole-time staff, at the same time that all post-intermediate science teaching was, by general agreement, devolved by the colleges on to the University, to be centralised, for the sake of economy, in the university laboratories.[1] But by a happy provision of the Act, all university teachers had to be attached to some college, so Khub Ram retained his membership on the St. Stephen's staff.

In his farewell report to Cambridge for 1922, Rudra had welcomed the formation of the University on the ground that the Delhi colleges had hitherto worked in comparative

[1] Some Rs. 5,000 worth of apparatus was also contributed by the College to help launch the University Physics Department.

isolation, involving wasteful duplication of machinery and equipment and some unhealthy rivalry, but would now enter into a scheme of co-operation under unified control in which their own staff members would have a consultative share. Everything, he observed, pointed to the timeliness of the new policy for concentrating and pooling the resources of educational institutions in the new type of University: and 'if the Delhi experiment is successful,' he declares, 'it will be an object lesson to the country for the betterment of higher education.' But that success would depend in the first place on the strength of the constituent colleges, and in the second on the spirit of mutual confidence and friendship among them. Unfortunately the first condition, as it worked out in actual fact, militated seriously for a time against the second. The Mission College was, in a way, too strong, and though its authorities took every occasion to repudiate any suggestion of a desire to dominate the University, in which it would only confess to the pardonable ambition, justified alike by its history and its personnel, of being *primus inter pares*, yet the very strength of its contribution, more particularly in men, inevitably gave rise to heart-burnings and tension with other colleges, which for a time created a rather unhappy atmosphere. The situation was unfortunately not alleviated by the course which the Vice-Chancellor pursued, and when on the conclusion of his original term of two years he was re-appointed, Western found himself unable to continue the moderating influence which as Rector he had been able to contribute. The influence of the College was therefore in some degree reduced, a fact which it welcomed on the whole as a practical proof of its disinterestedness in University politics; while increasing personal contacts and practical expressions of goodwill steadily improved the general inter-college relations. In University business, however, a situation arose in connection with



Susil Kumar Rudra, *Fourth Principal*

certain University appointments which eventually ended in something like a crisis. In March, 1925, Monk found himself compelled to propose, and the Governing Body after the most careful and prolonged deliberation approved, the abstention of the Principal and members of the staff from all participation, *ex-officio* or elective, in the executive and administrative functions of the University. The grounds for this drastic action were formulated as 'the deep divergence between the standards of the University as at present administered, and those which the Governing Body and those who work under it feel themselves bound to maintain.' The decisions of the Arbitration tribunals, which considered the cases that had thus brought previous criticisms to a head, effectively reinforced the protest. It also acquired additional moral weight from the fact that this abstention from the Executive Council left the field absolutely free to the opposing elements in that body, and disproved conclusively the charge of seeking for undue power which had been persistently imputed to the College. At the same time any accusation of blind and harmful non-co-operation was precluded by the Governing Body's explicit direction that members of the staff should continue their *academic* services to the University in readerships or on the Academic Council.

This 'demonstration' had the effect which was hoped for, and by the next January the Governing Body, reviewing the position, felt justified in directing a return to full participation in all University affairs, in view of the indications of a better spirit and of the probability of an early change in the actual régime. This took place a few months later, and since then St. Stephen's College has been proud to contribute its full weight and service, in all departments and activities, as an integral part of the University of Delhi.

CHAPTER XV

SUSIL KUMAR RUDRA

RUDRA's retirement marked the close of an era in the history of the College. When his resignation took effect at the end of February, 1923, after his nine months' leave, the depth and extent of all that he had contributed to its life and growth were well brought out in the numerous farewell tributes paid to him, and in the special number of the *College Magazine* that was issued for the occasion. To that latter the reader must be referred for personal biographical details, but a history of the College would be incomplete without some attempt to estimate the major elements in the character and achievements which have figured so largely in that story. The mere record of events in preceding chapters is in large part his memorial, but behind them lies a personality which for thirty-six years so permeated the life of the College that its influence is felt to this day even by those to whom he was never personally known. Andrews recorded, on his retirement, that what had impressed him most was not so much his unflagging energy of purpose or his remarkable power of organisation, as this all-pervading personality and the way in which everyone responded to its inspiration. 'Here, I feel certain, in his living personality, so patient, so humble, so tender, so sweet, was the central fact of all.' Nor is this confirmed solely by those who for years had looked to him as 'the Bara Sahib' or who, like Western, had found in him 'an influence of sympathy, of quiet untiring effort, and of the wisdom of ripe experience.' Westcott and Wright

and Hibbert-Ware had all testified to Andrews that from the earliest days of his service Rudra's had been the leading personality in the College staff; more and more the College had been shaped and moulded by him, at first by his silent influence, later by his active purpose, till it could be justly said that it was he more than any other man who shaped the traditions inherited to-day and gave St. Stephen's the almost unique position that it holds in public esteem, alike among university and among missionary colleges.

The secret of this influence lay, as Western in his tribute rightly noted, 'in the simple but great thing that he had looked at everything in terms of actual persons. He had all along been thinking of the actual boys or men who would be touched by this proposed rule, or who were being affected by that political or religious movement. He knew them individually, and appreciated their needs or their difficulties with the heart as well as (or even rather than) with the intellect. Hence his principles of education, of discipline, of political thought, were warm and living, and never in the least abstract or a priori.' With this gift guiding all his dealings with his pupils there went another that was the secret of his success with his colleagues, namely his power of co-operating with men of very different nature to himself. This was most apparent, perhaps, in the adjustments of opinion and policy that had to be made from time to time with Allnutt as head of the Mission and later, and in less degree, with Western. Difficult as the process inevitably was, it never did anything but contribute to a deepening of friendship between the men themselves. Similarly, with regard to the oft-repeated but quite unjustified implication of undue subordination to Andrews' guidance during the early years of his principalship, those who worked with and under him were well aware that behind his inveterate modesty and self-effacement lay a very definite power to take, and maintain, his own position.

As his biographer in the *College Magazine* very truly said, his great principle of work had throughout been that of consultation without surrender of effective power.

Before him John Wright was a benevolent and wise, but undisguised autocrat, while Allnutt before him was said by Wright to have screened autocracy under a show of consultation. With Rudra, both consultation and individual decision have been realities, and in the combination lay the secret of his extraordinarily effective administration. With the students the secret of his power lay rather in the combination of gentleness and patience with firmness. The students knew he loved and trusted them and they gave him love and trust in return. The general public knew his ardent patriotism, and it gained for the College a confidence that carried that institution through the troublous days of political ferment unscathed. In 1907, in 1919 and again in 1920–21, when successive waves of national bitterness swept over the country, and most educational institutions with Englishmen in them experienced great difficulty and much friction,[1] the bond of

[1] An incident illustrative of his personal hold on the students in those days deserves to be preserved. A political *hartal* had been declared for the day of the Prince of Wales's landing in Bombay, and several of the staff advised Rudra that city students, even if desirous, would be prevented from coming to the College; let it therefore be shut as for a holiday. Rudra, as so often, deferred any decision. Then came, a few days before the date for the *hartal*, a rather childish exhibition on the part of a thoughtless but not really ill-disposed set of students, who had been disappointed at the Principal's refusal of a hitherto unprecedented Hindu holiday and who successfully picketted and closed the College on the festival day. Next day the old man spoke to the somewhat shame-faced morning 'assembly' as a father, his one note that of grief at this first break in the tradition of mutual confidence and co-operation between students and staff. After his talk he sent them home, to ponder over the occurrence: it was impossible to work that day, with this incident occupying all minds: and if they were able to get it into the right perspective let them show their recovery of a better spirit by re-assembling in force on the morrow to make a fresh start. The morrow was the *hartal* day, on which, his advisers assured Rudra, public opinion would probably forcibly prevent their attendance. Other institutions took discretion to be wisdom and proclaimed a holiday; Rudra's flock turned up that morning with the fullest attendance at roll-call recorded for that term! So much for the respective weights of 'politics' and personality.

confidence between staff and students was never broken; and though the College was sometimes unjustly suspected by ill-informed or prejudiced persons of disloyalty, it was in reality performing a work of reconciliation the value of which cannot be over-estimated. And the credit for this and for its immunity from disruption in the most recent and overwhelming upheaval of non-co-operation, is due to one man above all others—to Principal Rudra.

In the series of farewell gatherings in which the hostels, clubs and associations of the College insisted on having him once again as their guest before he left, the prevailing note was the recognition of the high degree of personal and individual interest taken by him in the life of every one of them, which had done so much to foster the growth of corporate life in all their varied spheres. More significant still, as indicating how widely the influence of his personality extended beyond the bounds of the College, were the communal gatherings—Jats, Jains and Muhammadans in particular. The Jats, whose spokesman was Rai Sahib Chaudhri Chhotu Ram of Rohtak (for some time, like his fellow old student Rai Sahib Chaudhri Lal Chand, a Minister in the Punjab Government), frankly declared that St. Stephen's, though a missionary college, was looked upon by Jat students as, in a way, their own; and that they looked to Rudra as the pioneer of higher education among the Jats.[1] Similarly of the Jains and Muhammadans it was noted, as illustrating the catholic spirit which Rudra had infused into the College and the confidence he had won from men of all sections and creeds, that St. Stephen's had the largest number of Jain students of any college in Upper India, and that in spite of the nearness and fame of Aligarh, the College had not for many years lacked a very large proportion of Muhammadan

[1] The advance, in all spheres, both during and since the War, of this predominant martial and agricultural community of the Southern Punjab, has been one of the features of the recent history of the Province.

students. In these communal farewells, however, the most notable point was the entire absence of any spirit of separation; the narrower *esprit de corps* only subserved and reinforced the wider loyalty to the whole body, and at every one of such gatherings guests from other communities were present to take their full share in the proceedings.

Allied to this spirit in the College, to which he had contributed so much, were Rudra's own personal relations with his fellow-countrymen of different creeds in the city of Delhi, and the country at large. Hindus and Muhammadans alike came to him with their difficulties and troubles, and he met them with a heartfelt sympathy which was free from all partisanship, and was well-known as an Indian first and last. The bearing of all this on the public valuation of his own Indian Christian community can hardly be measured, when the all too frequent charges of denationalisation brought against it are borne in mind. Yet, throughout, he was unwavering in his Christian allegiance. Problems, ecclesiastical or credal, might trouble him acutely in his passion to see the Christian faith given a truly indigenous expression: there were occasions in his own inner life, particularly at the time of his beloved wife's sudden death after eight brief years of happiest married partnership, when he went through deep waters. Yet in spite of all, as his son records, though he saw and deeply appreciated the beauty of other religions, he held that the supremest revelation of the Divine was in Jesus the Christ, and never departed one hair's breadth from this bed-rock of his faith. A non-Christian colleague wrote of him after his death, 'he proved by his own life that an Indian Christian need not be denationalised'; and it was another Hindu colleague (and old pupil) who found the most fitting expression of his feelings at the farewell gathering of the staff in a Sanskrit rendering of the Sermon on the Mount which he had been moved to undertake at Rudra's own suggestion.

Nor must one of the most characteristic expressions of his Christian faith be overlooked; his persistent care for, and advocacy of, the needs of the poor and outcaste. It was largely his lead and enthusiasm that enabled the Social Service League to become a permanent feature of the College life, and caused it to attach his name to the Night School, for sweeper children particularly, established in the railway servants' lines; and he was one of the initiators of the similar league formed in the city of Delhi. One of the most striking memorials of his name is the annual Rudra Dinner to College servants, provided by his own special legacy, in which his desire is loyally carried out that the food shall be served by the students themselves to those who throughout the year are engaged in serving them.

It was all too short a period that Rudra lived to enjoy his well-earned release from duty. Laying down his office on 28th February, 1923, he spent his time partly with his children and grand-children, partly in welcome visits to his old friends and haunts in Delhi. In 1925, while spending the summer at Solon, in the Simla hills, the disease that had been long upon him asserted itself finally, and he passed away on 29th June, tended by the members of his family and his dearest friend, C. F. Andrews. The proposal for a public funeral in Delhi was rejected as too much out of keeping with all his tastes and instincts, and only a few old colleagues were able to be present to carry him to his grave. Owing to the impossibility of gathering his friends and old pupils in Delhi in the heart of the hot-weather, the Memorial Service there was deferred till the 11th October. The closing words of the preamble to the service, held in the College Hall, may fittingly stand to sum up his place in the history of St. Stephen's College:

Regret there will be in our thoughts, grief for the loss that we and our College, our city and our country have sustained.

But surpassing the sorrow that inevitably besets all transitory earthly lives, will be a humble pride in the gift to us by God of such a friend and guide; a devout and lasting thankfulness that the memory of him needs to be enshrined in no material memorial but will remain ever present and ever growing among his pupils and his colleagues and in the very existence of this College; and an earnest aspiration to show in our own lives and influence a worthy reflection of the benefits we have received from God through him.

CHAPTER XVI

TRANSITIONAL

To carry on the tradition of such a régime as Rudra's would have been no light task for his successor had the College been shaped as a 'one man show.' As it was, Monk, now confirmed in his provisional appointment as Principal, confessed in the 'Rudra Farewell' number of the Magazine how much his 'acting' months had revealed to be lying behind the smooth and automatic running of the College to which he and his colleagues had been so long accustomed and which they took so much for granted. Not only did he discover what unsuspected power of (and strain on) the central control had kept the organism efficient, but even more the wide range of unobtrusive yet ever watchful wisdom that had been handling so constantly and so skilfully, and above all so sympathetically, the very various and all-pervading elements of different personalities on the harmonising of which the life of a society such as a college must depend.

Such harmonising had now to be applied not merely to the various student groups, but to a staff in which there was no longer any great discrepancy in age or length of service between the leader of the team and a majority of its members. The value of the team-tradition, 'in which none is before or after another' except in opportunities for service, could not have been better demonstrated than by the spirit in which the adjustment to new conditions was undertaken, and in which

the energetic pursuit of the regular activities, both internal and external was, if anything, intensified.

In view of the critical financial situation obtaining just then, Monk decided to combine for a time the functions of Vice-Principal and Bursar in Mukarji, so that in case of any emergency requiring immediate action financial information might be associated as closely as possible with executive authority. The situation was that under the stress of the Inchcape Retrenchment Committee's recommendations the Government was threatening to cut down grants for education to a point at which it would have been impossible to maintain the College. Early in March, 1923, Monk had to draw the attention of Government to its approval, ten years previously, of the intensive policy then embarked on by the College, and to the virtual guarantee then given to support that policy with adequate grants; and a pointed reminder was added that the Mission had started the College at the instance of Government and that the latter would otherwise have been inevitably involved in a far more expensive institution of its own. A week later this last point was repeated with a plain intimation that if the Government went back on the clear understanding hitherto existent between it and the Cambridge Mission, that reasonably adequate grants-in-aid would be forthcoming, the Mission would have to consider closing the College, as being unable to maintain 'the high standards of education in which alone they are ready to involve themselves.' Months of uncertainty followed; the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Gour, pressed the cause not only of his University but of its constituent colleges in the Legislative Assembly and in the standing Finance Committee; and warnings were repeated that the College might have to close if not given the practical approbation of proper financial support. Eventually, in March, 1924, sufficient supplementary grants were sanctioned to afford immediate reassurance. This was confirmed by a

letter from the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi in which, though a considerable reduction in grants was adhered to, it was admitted that 'the Government of India appreciate to the full the work being done by the Cambridge Mission towards the provision of college education in the city of Delhi, and also agree that the certainty of the continuance of Government support is of importance to the Mission in arriving at a decision as to the future of St. Stephen's College.'

That communication virtually gave as much official guarantee as could be reasonably asked for in the current state of public finances. Its last sentence, however, had reference to an even more insidious flank attack on the College to which indirect allusion had been made in the correspondence. The old question of the 'worth-whileness' of missionary education for non-Christians had just then been revived among supporters of missions in England and the justification for its heavy drain on available resources was being challenged. It was, therefore, desirable to prove the existence of a demand for such disinterested service to the country as the Christian educationist believed that he was giving in his Master's name and spirit; and when Monk went home on furlough in 1924, he took with him a collection he had been at pains to make of testimonies both from prominent officials and from leaders of the Indian Church. Their opinions can be sufficiently summarised on the one hand by the declaration of the then Director of Public Instruction in the Panjab, Sir George Anderson—'I should regard it as little short of a catastrophe were the College to relax any of its efforts'—and on the other by the words of the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram—'It is being openly said that the work of the Mission School and College is done. No bigger heresy has been preached in the annals of Indian Christianity. The work of the Christian

educationist has just begun.' Equally emphatic appreciation was spontaneously supplied by a prominent Hindu old Stephanian, who was alarmed to hear that there was any thought of this element of missionary service to his country being reduced. Happily it was at once apparent, when Monk came to put the case before the Home Committee, that the alarm had been groundless; but there was undoubted gain in having these testimonies to the 'worth-whileness' of the College thus put on record by those best qualified to judge; and its authorities have ever since been particularly indebted to the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G. for the courageous way in which, with increasing demands all round on their diminishing resources, they have each continued to find the necessary annual block grants for the College. These grants, it might be well to repeat, are in no way for the maintenance of the institution as such, which, it has been strictly held for many years now, should be self-supporting so far as missionary money is concerned; but solely for the salaries of the men sent out by the English Church, and only then, in actual fact, for the provision of two-thirds of the aggregate sum required, the balance being found from the general revenues of the College.

A sense of financial security was thus, after some very anxious months, recovered subject to that general and unhappily persisting uncertainty from which of course the College could not claim any special exemption. A fine spirit, in the best tradition of the team, was displayed by the members of the staff who were appointed on local salaries, to which (unlike the missionary salaries) annual increments were attached. During the more critical months of doubt in 1923 regarding the Government grants these increments had perforce to be deferred, yet not once were the many personal embarrassments that must thereby have resulted allowed to intrude themselves upon the common life and work.

Meanwhile the obvious temptation to meet the deficiency in income by an increase in numbers and thereby of fees was not so much resisted as ignored. The aggregate of the students on the rolls swelled, it is true, to thirty and forty more than the accepted limit of 250, but each year's reports deplored this as a real embarrassment, due to the virtual impossibility of keeping exactly to that limit, in face of a demand for admission that necessitated the rejection of as many as a hundred applicants at admission time; and eventually in 1925 it was found necessary to obtain the local Government's acquiescence in the 250 limit being regarded as applicable only to the undergraduate roll. The policy of limiting the size of classes was thus still asserted, and fortunately the supply of men on the staff continued sufficient to maintain the vital principle of close personal contact between teachers and taught.

The second Brotherhood place on the staff, vacant since Ireland's withdrawal to district work in 1920, was filled in October, 1923, by the arrival of W. O. Fitch (Magdalene), who brought a welcome reinforcement on the playing fields as well as in the English teaching. Almost immediately, however, this accession was counterbalanced by the loss of the other Brotherhood member, P. N. F. Young, who was called on to provide, in accordance with a recent undertaking of the Mission, the services of Chaplain to the 'English' parish of St. James. This was the realisation of a dream, long cherished by the Cambridge Mission, of demonstrating practically the racial unity of the Church's work in Delhi; and the College could not venture to grudge, as its contribution to that end, one who had shown such striking pastoral gifts not only in his care of the Christian students but also in what he had contributed to the corporate spiritual life of the staff. Happily, his old colleagues were able to find a continuance of that help in the services at St.

James' Church, which, adjoining the College as it does, has often to supply the lack of a College chapel; and by these and many similar contacts were able to feel, throughout the next nine years of his chaplaincy, that he had not ceased to be 'one of themselves.' The invaluable services he had been rendering the University as Dean of the Arts Faculty had of course to be relinquished, but were soon claimed from the College again in the person of C. B. Young. The loss to the History teaching of the College would have been serious but for the opportune offer of T. G. P. Spear (St. Catharine's), who arrived in the beginning of 1924. Capron, whose 'probationer' service ended that spring, returned in the autumn on a permanent footing, and with him came a new probationer, H. W. Padley (St. John's), who took Scott's place on the latter's transfer to more congenial school work.

As soon as the financial situation was eased, Mukarji was released from the bursarship, and N. K. Sen took his place for a short period, till relieved by C. B. Young. In November, 1925, Sen, like Khub Ram, had to be relinquished to the University, having accepted the appointment of Registrar. His twenty years service in the College had endeared him to a long succession of colleagues and a host of old pupils. Happily the great reputation he had won, both for the College and himself, in the teaching of Philosophy led the University to allot him also the functions of a Reader in that department, and the rule for the attachment of University teachers to colleges enables St. Stephen's to count him still as a member of its staff. His place in the College teaching was taken till the following summer by Dr. L. Sadoc, a Punjabi Christian, who had recently returned with a Ph.D. degree from the University of Frankfurt. Another serious gap in the teaching ranks was made in the autumn of 1925 by Ram Behari's departure for two years study at Cambridge, but the College took comfort and reflected glory from the fact that he went

there as a State scholar, and filled his place with temporary appointments, chiefly its own fresh Mathematical graduates.

Thus kept up to strength and with its senior members now free from interminable University committees, the staff was able to attend more effectively than ever to the development of student life and character. Games remained under Mukarji's presidentship, and the College teams gave such a good account of themselves in the Inter-college University tournaments that for several years in succession St. Stephen's secured the Chancellor's trophy for the greatest number of events won. In a way these very successes had their drawbacks, by reviving somewhat the tendency to concentrate interest on the teams instead of on a general utilisation of the playing fields. But the danger was recognised and combated, and there was on the other hand much satisfaction to be derived from the obvious contribution which St. Stephen's players and spectators were able to make to the general standard of sportsmanship in these tournaments, for which also the College staff was called upon several times to provide the organising secretary.

Simultaneously, under Sharp's indefatigable guidance, the Social Service League was enlarging the scope of its activities by giving the city authorities valuable assistance in plague-prevention in the spring of 1924 (a good lead was set by nearly fifty per cent of the College students availing themselves of anti-plague inoculation) and by ranging over a considerable area of the neighbouring districts in the distribution of relief after the disastrous Jumna floods of October, 1924. The provision of 'volunteers,' also, during the annual Baby Week Exhibition in the city now came to be one of the league's regular functions; and its Rudra Night School in the Railway Servants' Lines was provided with a small building of its own, thanks to the appreciative co-operation of the railway authorities. Another line of

opportunities, too, for public service was afforded to the students by Sharp's institution not only of a Rover Scout Pack in the College but of a Scoutmasters' Training Class also, which for some time supplied Scoutmasters to nearly all the High School troops in Delhi, and thus provided him with useful lieutenants in the task of putting the local Scout Movement on a secure footing, a service for which the city will always be in his debt.

In another sphere of activity Padley, within a few weeks of his arrival, had resurrected the long-defunct 'Falstaff' tradition and initiated that series of productions of Shakespeare's plays which, under his exacting enthusiasm, has had as great a moral as a cultural effect on the College in the last ten years. A very different outlet, again, was offered by the rapid development of the University Training Corps, in which by 1926 the College was contributing from 40 to 50 of its 166 members and 4 out of its 11 N.C.O's., a creditable proportion in comparison with the relative total numbers in the different colleges.

Besides all these varied opportunities for the development of character and wide interests, there were the more indefinable, but none the less effective influence of class and hostel. Boarding accommodation was still inadequate (of 280 students[1] on the rolls in March, 1926, 133 were in residence), but the uncertainty about the move to a new site made it impossible to embark on further building. Fitch had taken over charge of the Main Hostel when Scott left. Capron still presided over the Allnutt, and the two branch hostels under Khub Ram and C. B. Young were still maintained. Yet there was a considerable waiting-list, and eventually some of the over-

[1] Hindus 189, Muslims 78, Christians 13, representing normal proportions, except for a welcome rise in the Christian number, which has latterly dropped to as low as 4 or 5. Class distribution was: Intermediate 139, Degree 114, Post-graduate 27.

flows had to be arranged for in the College House, which Monk had not found it convenient to occupy with his family when first appointed Principal, and of which he needed only a few rooms when he returned alone after his furlough at the end of 1924.

Meanwhile academic progress became more and more encouraging as those arrangements under the University Act came into operation which allowed the teacher a proper say in the framing of courses. Old syllabuses inherited from the Punjab University were drastically revised, and Honours Schools were instituted successively in the various departments of study, St. Stephen's men taking their full share in the work. Indeed at times it seemed to be felt by other colleges to be more than their share, but the constant personal contacts on committees and councils brought about an increasing *rapprochement* between the staffs and went far to remove past jealousies and suspicions. Year by year the hopes of an imminent official decision regarding the new location for the University were disappointed, and the expected aid from professors directly appointed by the University failed to materialise for lack of funds; so that the colleges, thus thrown together to make the best of things by themselves, developed not only an increased strength individually as teaching units, but also a solidarity of friendly competition which ensured the young University a far richer life than any strict 'unitary' system would have given it.

The actual examination results of the College kept up their usual satisfactory standard. The closing years of affiliation with the Punjab Universiry provided in 1922 the first places in the M.A., in the Honours School of Mathematics and in the Pass B.A.; in 1923 a record result for the University of 72½ per cent passes in the B.A. examination, and the leading percentage again in the same examination the next year;

besides the usual annual share of first classes, and University scholarships and medals. Achievements of graduates in the public competitive examinations included a quite disproportionate share of five places in six years in the Finance Department examination, the third place in the I.C.S. examination (in India) of 1925, and the sixth place in that for the United Provinces Civil Service in the same year. A good start, too, was made in the first year of the Delhi University's own examinations, 1925, with 70 per cent passes in both the B.A. and Intermediate, while nine out of eleven M.A. candidates were successful. Two out of the four University scholarships were secured in the Intermediate, and the absence of any First Division graduates was mitigated by the fact that the University, cautiously applying a high opening standard, only awarded two first classes altogether in the degree results.

A reformation was made in 1925 in the system of financial provision for needy students. Hitherto the general practice had been followed of awarding 'concessions,' full-fee or half-fee, to applicants who proved need and a reasonable standard of ability. But it had come to be felt that it was not justified thus to assist from College revenues students, who, though deserving, were not particularly brilliant. Accordingly 'concessions' were abolished altogether and a definite number of scholarships (in addition to various endowed ones) were offered from College revenues to First Division students only. At the same time the Poor Students Fund, previously maintained by Rudra to facilitate anonymous charitable support of individuals, was expanded as a Stipend Fund supplied by voluntary donations (the staff, incidentally, contributing considerably to it), and administered by the Principal with the advice of the Managing Committee. The opportunity thus afforded to old Stephanians of demonstrating a practical *esprit de corps* is sufficiently obvious.

Along with these varied activities went a continuous attention to the fundamental *raison d'etre* of the College, the basing of youth's aspirations and capacities on the one sure foundation of personal religion. Success in this sphere of the educationist's task admits of no explicit test, but indication may be read in the daily life and tone of the whole body. In his report to the Home Committee for 1923, Monk noted a steady heightening of the standard of personal religious devotion among an increasing proportion of the students, practical evidence of which was to be seen in the response to the calls of the Social Service League and other similar activities, and in an obvious appreciation of invitations to silent corporate prayer at times of stress and anxiety, especially for the sick. And again in his report for 1925, remarking on the overwhelming demand for admission to the College, he declares his belief that 'it is undoubtedly the religious character of the training given by the College which exercises this attraction'; and concludes with the conviction that 'to those who are most closely in touch with the adolescent in a college, such as ours, there is evidence, alike in the common worship with which he begins his college day and in all the activities which follow after that, that he is increasingly finding God, and increasingly ready to acknowledge, though still in his own terms rather than ours, that Christ is the way which leads most direct to Him.'

About the end of March, 1926, Monk found himself, for a variety of reasons, temporarily used up, just as the climax was being reached in the series of diplomatic conversations and negotiations which resulted, shortly after, in a change of régime in the University and the restoration of full co-operation with its executive authorities. Owing to his being incapacitated his place in the various discussions had to be taken by Mukarji as Vice-Principal; and it was his realisation of the superior qualifications which an Indian naturally had

for these intricate duties (for which also he himself confessed to having little taste), that first suggested to Monk's mind a transfer of responsibilities. A mere resignation, of course, would have been uncomfortably like running away from the job: but in the actual circumstances the idea, once conceived, immediately revealed such a number of advantages that he forthwith submitted it, confidentially, to the Bishop and other members of the Supreme Council, in whose hands the appointment of the Principal lies. Among the various reasons which combined to commend the step to their minds, as to Monk's, it would be wrong to stress unduly the fact that it replaced an Englishman by an Indian. Undoubtedly that aspect carried very great weight in the minds both of those responsible for the change and of the public at large; but among a staff in which differences of race had almost ceased to be noticed in daily work, it would have been a poor compliment to an Indian colleague to advocate his appointment merely on the score of his birth. It was the competence which Mukarji had proved as Acting Principal for nine months of 1924, coupled with the great ability he had exhibited for the past ten years as Bursar, which constituted the principal justification of Monk's proposal that he should retire from the principalship in his colleague's favour. The various advantages, individual and collective, that would result therefrom, supplied additional arguments for the step. Individually it would, on the one hand, put *ex-officio* into the University councils one who was naturally better fitted than a foreigner to handle the often intricate diplomacy of an Indian university; on the other hand it would release Monk from administrative preoccupations to exercise more freely that personal influence in the class-room and on the playing-fields in which he felt his chief vocation to lie as an educationist and which his duties as Principal had tended more and more to curtail. Collectively it enabled the College

to demonstrate unchallengeably again the *bona fides* of its claim to be essentially a national institution in which British missionaries were proud to accept competent Indian leadership in what was primarily India's business.

The Supreme Council readily accepted Monk's resignation in view of the reasons offered, and appointed Mukarji with the greatest confidence in his powers of leadership and control, adding an appreciation of the two points in Monk's principalship on which he himself had set the most store, namely 'needed developments in efficiency of organisation and a marked advance in the religious tone of the College.' The *College Magazine* sufficiently indicates the feelings with which the step was received by the staff and students. Welcoming Monk's action, as in accordance with the best traditions and precedents of the College, and congratulating him on having carried out his own motto of 'leaving the place better than one found it,' it gave the following welcome to the new Principal:

The days when Mr. Mukarji was Acting Principal are still fresh in our mind, and an experience of his leadership of us during those months increases the confidence and enthusiasm with which we offer him now our warmest welcome and entire support as he takes up the duties of Principal. It is not possible for the authorities readily to accept the resignation of a successful Principal, when it is the result of no kind of friction or dissatisfaction on any side, and their agreement, after great consideration, to Mr. Monk's proposal is as much a high compliment and demonstration of their confidence in the new Principal as it is a deliberate acceptance of the generous faith and principles held by Mr. Monk and embodied in the foundation of the College itself, that the head is not head for his glory, but as the servant of all.

CHAPTER XVII

PRESENT DAY

MUKARJI took over charge in May, 1926. About the same time a new Vice-Chancellor of the University was appointed in the person of Rai Bahadur Moti Sagar, a prominent Delhi citizen and a Judge of the Lahore High Court, who enjoyed the confidence of all sections. His accession to office inaugurated an era of increasingly cordial co-operation between the University and its constituent colleges, into which Mukarji threw himself with vigour, directed largely towards eliciting from Government the long promised provision of the University site and central buildings to which it was committed, and also of grants to enable the colleges to migrate and establish themselves round the new centre.

While the official attitude to the suggested utilisation of the old Viceregal Lodge site was still in doubt, the alternative had to be faced of seeing the University housed somehow in the neighbourhood of the Kashmir Gate, and the College had to consider its plans in case of such a decision. In view of the policy of restricting numbers, it would have been possible, though the main College building lent itself little to up-to-date adaptation, to carry out sufficient alterations and expansions to meet the most immediate needs, especially by better utilisation of the main hostel area. Mukarji's reports therefore advised the Home Committees that it would not be impossible for the College to carry on tolerably on the existing site if the University buildings were established in its neigh-

bourhood. From a general University point of view, however, such a location would have been intolerably cramped, and happily, as already recorded, the University Enquiry Committee of 1927 definitely recommended the assignment of the old Viceregal Lodge site and its surrounding area to the University and its constituent colleges. This site lies to the North (whereas New Delhi is to the South) at such a healthy distance from the congested Old Delhi that, till the recent rapid development of transport facilities, that aspect even counted in its disfavour because of the preponderance of day-students. The buildings already standing on the site can be adapted at a comparatively small cost to provide the accommodation required by the University for its offices, library, laboratories and law hall; so that the colleges had good hopes of Government being able to be all the more generous with grants to enable them to erect their own buildings on the ample space in the general area. Unfortunately, however, on the one hand the decision to retain the Intermediate classes in the colleges made them unable to reduce their building estimates, and at the same time the prevailing financial stringency made it impossible for Government to allot, for the moment, any grants at all for such purposes. St. Stephen's indeed found itself in a dilemma. On the one hand, it had a sufficient sum of money in hand to justify starting building forthwith. Two lakhs of rupees had been set aside for the new College building by Government in 1913 and 1915: and in addition there was a further building fund lying dormant in England. £5,000 of the latter was in the shape of a contribution promised by the S.P.G., which would, however, lapse if the building project was long delayed. An immediate start was therefore not only possible but, on this side of the facts, highly desirable. On the other hand inter-collegiate teaching in St. Stephen's and the Hindu College had by now developed

to such proportions and with such goodwill[1] that it was practically impossible for St. Stephen's to move to a new site unless the sister college came too—and the sister college had no building capital in hand at all.

At last, in 1930, most sympathetic and hopeful proposals were put up by the Education Department, providing for a series of annual instalments of the capital grants required, on a system which would have met both the colleges' needs and the Government's difficulties. But the next year superior authority in the Central Government, for reasons best known to itself, suddenly decided to assign the use of the old Viceregal Lodge buildings for a political conspiracy trial which was likely to last for some years, and thus effectively destroyed the hopes which had begun to be entertained of celebrating the Jubilee of the College by laying the foundation stone of a new home for it.

St. Stephen's College completed its first fifty years, then, still endeavouring to make the best of accommodation which, in view of the imminence of the move, it could not afford to spend money on improving, but which at the same time was being strained to its utmost not only by steadily rising standards of teaching which necessitated all sorts of make-shifts in the way of tutorial rooms, but also by a more embarrassing increase than ever in the number of admissions. Undergraduate numbers, already at 254 in 1926 and 1927, rose to 280 in 1928, a full thirty above the recognised limit, and in another two years had exceeded 300.[2] Repeated

[1] The Hindu College, in 1927, granted without any charge the generous concession of admitting annually to its biology classes six Intermediate Science students from St. Stephen's, thus saving the latter from the alternative of either turning away students wishing to take up biology or embarking on the very expensive provision of teaching in that subject.

[2] Two noticeable features in the composition of the numbers in recent years are the increase of Christians to well above twenty, and the inclusion of women students (as many as ten in one year) among the

raising of fees till they were level with, and eventually higher than, those charged at the Lahore Government College, failed to discourage applicants enough to reduce the pressure, and the Principal was yearly subjected to the reproaches of old Stephanians whose sons or relatives applied after the entries had been closed. A rigorous return to the 250 limit by progressive annual reductions is one of the chief tasks with which the second half-century starts.

In spite of the pressure of numbers steady advance was made in the development of Honours and M.A. courses; and in 1928, thanks to the self-sacrifice of the resident staff at Maitland House and the generosity of C. B. Young, the large central hall there was set aside and fitted up to meet in some degree the crying need for a proper study-library with open shelves. In several departments of study associations were formed to promote wider interest in the subject and the Historical Society particularly, under Spear's inspiration and guidance, not only explored local ancient sites but made expeditions during holidays as far afield as Ajanta or the Khyber Pass. University results showed annually a more than proportionate share of first classes, University scholarships and similar successes, with record figures both in percentages and in 'places' in 1928 and again in 1931. The College also found itself in a fair way to establishing a monopoly in the winning of the Rector's Prize, endowed by Western for a competitive General Knowledge Examination confined to undergraduates and intended both to promote practical hobbies and to break down the unhealthy lack of interest in any aspects of knowledge not included in the set courses.

different classes. With the increasing provision of Women's Colleges the latter are now mainly confined to the Honours and M.A. courses, but on more than one occasion have not only topped the lists but created records in the number of marks obtained.

Old Stephanians continued to add to the Honours lists in varied fields. In 1926 the College could claim one member of the Legislative Assembly, three members of the Punjab Legislative Council, and three new appointments as Extra Assistant Commissioners. The next year its representatives won the second and third places in the Finance Department Examination, one of the stiffest of the public competitive examinations. Again in 1929, the College was congratulating itself on its exceptionally effective representation in Cambridge and elsewhere in England—S. K. Bose as State Scholar at Magdalene doing brilliantly in the Philosophy Tripos, and Azhar Ali, on study-leave, researching at Queens' for his Ph.D. in Persian, and a number of recent graduates and others pursuing various further studies or training. An annual Stephanian dinner in Cambridge or in London, held as nearly as possible simultaneously with the Founder's Day celebrations in Delhi, helped a large number of these men and retired members of the staff to renew the fellowship learnt at St. Stephen's. The thanks for these opportunities of re-union must go largely to Shoran Singha, one of the original band of Christian students who went to France for Y.M.C.A. work in the early days of the War, and has since done sterling service for many years at the Indian Students' Hostel in London in promoting better understanding of, and friendly help for, Indian students while in England.

In 1931, the College which had for some years contributed an old student to the Delhi University in its Treasurer, Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Kishore, was proud to welcome another as its new Vice-Chancellor in the person of Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahman. These two had added a further proof of their loyalty to their old College in 1928 by consenting to be the first two co-opted members of the Governing Body provided for by an amendment of the constitution introduced that year for the purpose of bringing representatives of the Delhi public

into its counsels. Again, in 1929, it was some mitigation of the loss sustained through Western's appointment to the Bishopric of Tinnevelly that the honour of filling the acting headship of the Mission, pending the appointment of a recently retired member of the Brotherhood, the Rev. H. B. King, fell to an old Stephanian, the Rev. J. C. Chatterji. Besides his long service to the church both in educational work as Principal of the High School and in pastoral work as Vicar of St. Stephen's Parish, he had recently been called on for service to the State as nominated member of the Legislative Assembly to represent Indian Christians.

Western's departure ended a record of vital constructive contributions to the life of the College that had extended far beyond his direct connection with it on its staff during his earliest years in India and when acting as Principal in 1912. Since Allnutt's death in 1917 he had, as head of the Brotherhood, been Chairman of the Governing Body, and in that capacity had brought to the many problems which Rudra, Monk and Mukarji in turn had had to share with him, an intellectual grasp of issues raised and a judicial temperament in dealing with them, to which they would each of them have been the first to credit a large part of their success in administering the College. In the drafting of the constitution, in solving budgetary crises, in formulating regulations for pay or leave for the staff, his labour was indefatigable and his counsel rarely in error; but it was in what he did as Rector, in the creation of the University's machinery and the codification of all its complicated regulations during its most critical infancy, that he made his greatest contribution to higher education in Delhi, and demonstrated the far-reaching scope of the vocation of the missionary educationalist.

The staff numbers in the last half-dozen years have increased to twenty-two or so, the exact figure being difficult to define at any moment, not only on account of furloughs but

also owing to the institution of study-leave. This privilege for members of the Indian staff of over seven years' service was, on Mukarji's proposal, approved by the Governing Body in 1927. The first to take advantage of it was Maulvi Abdur Rahman, who in the summer of 1928 undertook a series of visits to places of learning in the near East and on the Continent of Europe and represented Delhi in the International Congress of Oriental Studies at Oxford. His example was followed, as already mentioned, by Azhar Ali, who obtained his doctorate by two years' research study in Cambridge. Other members have since similarly availed themselves of the opportunity to extend both their own horizons and the reputation of the College. In like manner the products of scholarship have begun to find publication, and in the high approbation accorded to Pandit Lachhmi Dhar's *Original Home of the Aryans*, presented at the All-India Oriental Conference at Patna in 1931, special appreciation was expressed of a College policy which left the staff sufficient leisure to pursue such important academic functions as this kind of research while still discharging their full obligations to their pupils. Again, no less than three particularly brilliant graduates of the College, who had been taken either permanently or provisionally on to the staff, were sent to Cambridge as State scholars during these years—Ram Behari for Mathematics from 1925 to 1927, S. K. Bose for Philosophy in 1927, and Jit Ram for Economics in 1931.

The staff-lists for these years therefore show considerable fluctuations. The most serious loss was Sharp's retirement for family reasons in the summer of 1926. His service in the College had been considerably broken, chiefly by the big gap caused by War Service from 1914 to 1920, in the course of which he attained the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. The experience then gained, however, more than compensated for his long absence in the increased versatility and initiative which on

his return he brought to bear so indefatigably in many spheres. There was hardly an activity undertaken by students or staff to which he did not contribute some unique form of stimulus, while many owe their origin or establishment to him. In the pre-War years it was his introduction of Comparative Religion in his class teaching that caused the emergence of the Hindu and Muslim religious associations; while in a very different sphere, the first serious attempts at athletic sports were due to his initative. His interest too always sought a link with wider life outside the College; the public City Social Service League and local enterprises in school education alike owe a great debt to his inspiration and practical advice. It was after his return in 1920, however, that probably the most far-reaching and lasting contribution to good citizenship was made by him, in that extension and consolidation of the Boy Scout Movement to which allusion has already been made. In his contact with his pupils he had an unusual gift of winning their confidences, and was particularly untiring in developing the system of personal tuitions. Mrs. Sharp's participation in teaching was all too brief, but her contribution, too, to the intellectual as well as the social life of the College will not readily be forgotten. The two left a very big gap, but happily their educational genius was able to find fitting scope at home in the reviving and re-establishment of a well-known school experiment started some fifty years ago, Abbotsholme School in Derbyshire.

Sharp had been the first Oxford man on the staff, and this co-operation with the Cambridge Mission on the part of the sister university was happily replenished, a few months after his retirement, by the arrival of M. S. Leigh (New College), to take up Sen's place in Philosophy, which had been temporarily filled by Sadoc. Leigh not only brought the philosophic temperament acquired with a First in Greats, but also the experience of sixteen years of I.C.S. service in the Punjab

and a devotion to the interests of India that had caused him, in response to the World Call of the English Church, to throw up a specially happy post as Assistant Bursar at his old school, Winchester, and to volunteer for missionary work. Though his retirement, six years later, for domestic reasons falls beyond the exact limits of this record, a tribute cannot be omitted here to the untiring service he rendered in a variety of spheres, not merely as philosopher but in indefatigable labours as Bursar in succession to C. B. Young and as President of games during Monk's absence.

Another Cambridge recruit was acquired in October, 1926, in C. J. G. Robinson (Christ's), and lost with great regret when, after his probationary period, he elected to be ordained at home and returned in 1931, to take charge of the chaplaincy of St. James' Church on P. N. F. Young's transfer to Simla. During his brief term in the College, for the latter part of which he was in charge of the Main Hostel, Robinson not only left a deep impress from his pastoral gifts on his hostellers, both Christian and non-Christian, but also incidentally achieved the hitherto impossible by converting the hostel compound into a much appreciated garden. Padley also sought ordination in England after his first furlough in 1927, but returned to the College in 1929, when he assumed both the Superintendentship of the Main Hostel and the functions of Chaplain for the College which, for lack of an ordained member of the staff, had been in abeyance since P. N. F. Young left.

The last link between the Cambridge Brotherhood and the College staff was broken in 1927 when Fitch withdrew to be ordained for district work. He was keenly missed both on the playing fields and among his Jat and other 'village' hostellers, with whom he had established particularly close and happy relations by frequent visits to their homes. No fresh recruits with educational vocation appearing for the Brother-

hood, that body generously released to the College the salaries of the two men it had undertaken to supply on the staff when the cadre was outlined in 1913. The loss of this connection with the Brotherhood, to whom as has been shown the very existence of the College is due, remains deeply regretted, and hopes are still cherished that it may yet in some form be restored when the now sadly depleted Brotherhood has solved the problem of its future.

But the supply of Cambridge men as such for the College work has not failed. F. G. Winsor (Selwyn) arrived at the close of 1927 to reinforce the English teaching and G. A. G. Bowden (Magdalene) joined the staff as its first 'air minded' member[1] in time to signalise the Jubilee Celebrations in December, 1931, by breaking the local regulations against low flying. Spear, too, returned in 1927 after study leave employed in historical research which in due course resulted in the Cambridge Ph.D. degree and the publication of *The Nabobs*—a study of Social Life in India in the Eighteenth Century.

Mukarji, with his wife, took a much needed furlough in England for the latter six months of 1927, and by his visits and addresses at meetings brought much inspiration to the supporters of the College. During his absence, Monk took over as Acting Principal, and in the next spring went on furlough, which was extended till October, 1930, for special duty in promoting the general interests of the Mission in England, for which the Governing Body lent his services. Capron was appointed Vice-Principal during his absence, and his place in teaching was filled by the appointment of two recent M.A's. of the College who had had a particularly fine record both academically and as student-leaders—David

[1] Old Stephanians, however, had already contributed a leading pilot of the Delhi Flying Club in Bhagat Behari Lal (1922) and one of the first Indian cadets at Cranwell in H. C. Sircar (1930).

Raja Ram and Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi. Monk took the opportunity of replenishing the contingent from his own University, Oxford, by recruiting J. W. Tribe (Queen's), who arrived in October, 1928, but to the regret of all, found himself unable to return after his probationer period to continue the many contributions to the College life he had made, not only in an unusual variety of class subjects, but also in games and the U.T.C. and as superintendent of the Allnutt Hostel.

This last-named post had been relinquished by Capron in 1929 when he decided to extend the invaluable work which he was doing with the Social Service League among waifs and strays by taking rooms for himself and one or two student companions in one of the poorer quarters of the city. The risks to health involved in the step were on the whole successfully avoided, and the impulse given by such a practical personal lead resulted in a greatly increased interest in the needs of the urban poor among the students in general. On those actually associated with him in such work, and in the Rover Scouting which he led as an auxiliary to it, it would be hard to measure the extent of Capron's influence and personal example. Students and staff alike felt that the College lost a great source of inspiration when he decided that he must remain in England after his furlough in 1931 and be ordained for work at home. The hope is still cherished that he will not be able to resist indefinitely the attraction that he confesses Delhi holds for him, and that the city will eventually see him back, not on the staff but for the even more important and increasingly needed pioneering work of establishing some sort of settlement which will afford the Social Service League a more effective centre of operations than it has hitherto been able to devise.

On the Indian side the frequent staff changes during these years were in large measure due to the absence of perma-

nent men on furlough or study-leave or as State scholars; but there was also a definite increase in teaching strength. This was partly made to meet the permanent division of the Intermediate Classes into Arts and Science sections which excessive numbers had necessitated, and partly due to the intensification of tutorial work in the Honours and M.A., courses. K. M. Sarkar came provisionally in October, 1926, with a brilliant History degree from the Punjab, and the idea of entering later for the I.C.S. competition. In a few months, however, he had formed a definite preference for finding his vocation as a permanent member of the staff, thus disproving in the case of St. Stephen's at any rate the current idea that the young Indian Christian could not find a self-respecting career in 'Mission Service.' In October, 1926, too, Sant Ram came over from the Ramjas College (another unit of the Delhi University), to fill permanently the Physics vacancy which had been caused by Khub Ram's transfer to the University post and which had been occupied temporarily for a year each by T. M. Mandal and Hukam Chand. In the same October, too, S. K. Bose was appointed provisionally for the junior Philosophy, but left within a year to take up his State Scholarship. Dev Raj Bhalla succeeded him for a year and the place was then filled on a permanent footing by another old student, A. W. Ozmund (A. T. Osmond), who had previously filled a temporary gap from October, 1921, to April, 1922. Lorimer reinforced the English teaching ranks for short periods more than once; but the greatest fluctuations occurred in Mathematics. Ram Behari's absence at Cambridge as State Scholar was met by a series of short term appointments, Vidya Chand, A. J. Mukerji and N. C. Gupta; the two latter were recent distinguished graduates of the College, Vidya Chand from the Punjab, whither he had regretfully to be allowed to return to better prospects than the College could hope to offer him. For the autumn

of 1927, while Mukarji was in England, a recently returned Cambridge man, S. C. Das Gupta was secured, but he, too, was drawn away to a better post. The appeals to Cambridge, repeated ever since Leather's departure in 1919, to find another Wrangler for the missionary staff still proved ineffective, and the Baptist Mission came to the help of the College once again by lending Mrs. McAndrew, a London graduate, to help with the Mathematics teaching from 1928 to 1930. The permanent post still strangely enough, awaits its Cambridge Mission recruit; but there was a quite inspiring response from an older generation to the call for someone to take up Mukarji's teaching work during his absence with the Lindsay Commission when W. H. Roseveare (St. John's), brought to the College for those six months not only the ripe wisdom and learning of twenty years as Professor of Mathematics in the University of Natal, but also such a genial adaptability to the utterly strange conditions as made his colleagues regret that he had already gone on to the retired list.

The team, it should be noted, remained considerably more stable than these frequent changes might seem to imply; for not only did the constant element in it preponderate, but the new men too were in many cases graduates of the College, and there were occasionally as many as half-a-dozen old Stephanians on the staff at a time. Such recruits brought with them a complete familiarity with the College traditions, particularly that of close association both with colleagues and with pupils, which reduced the usual period of adjustment to a minimum. Further, they were in more than one case men who had recently themselves been exercising particularly ably the very difficult functions of student leadership at a time of considerable political and racial tension, and the advice and guidance they were thus able to give to their juniors in the same task did as much as anything

to produce the astonishing steadiness with which the student body of the College came successfully through the culminating tensions of 1930 and 1931. As in similar circumstances previously, the College managed to combine with an intense interest in public affairs and the freest expression of national aspirations, a clear conviction that the business of the student was with preparation for citizenship rather than with premature intrusion into politics, and not half-a-dozen either of those still studying or of recent graduates involved themselves in sterile agitation. This was largely due to the safety-valve afforded for natural adolescent enthusiasm in an *ad hoc* society, 'The Nationalist,' which received official college sanction at the most critical period in 1930 and, ably guided by senior students who interchanged with the Principal and their tutors the frankest confidences and advice, directed inchoate patriotic fervour into such practical channels as First Aid courses when riots were feared, and the positive promotion of *swadeshi* in preference to a negative boycott. Assaults on the peace and unity of the College came solely from outside, from such bodies as a so-called Students' Union, to which never more than half-a-dozen St. Stephen's students gave any sort of adherence. When 'invasions' occurred, as they did more than once, to demand the closing of the College and the needless loss of a day's work, they were met with the policy not merely of showing no sort of resistance that could be maliciously misrepresented as provocative, but also of asserting the educational principle that the adolescent in the college stage must bear the burden of judging and deciding for himself. One such invasion resulted in a joint presentation of the divergent points of view on the College lawn in an interval between classes, and a total defection of sixteen only, most of them well-known young truants, when the procession moved off and lectures were resumed. This experience forced the invaders on the next occasion into the

self-stultifying position of asserting roundly that the students were not fit to decide for themselves, and of forcibly preventing them from attending even the student meeting at which the College authorities promised that they should be allowed to do so. The moral of such practical applications of 'non-violence' theories to the actual educational circumstances was not lost upon the student mind, and may be claimed to have had its effect well beyond the bounds of the College.

The general healthy-mindedness of the student community, thus given no imagined grievance to bite on, was demonstrated by the rapidity with which interest swung from external distractions to the claims of athletics and college societies. It would seem as if the advice given by Lord Irwin, when in March, 1929, for the first time a Viceroy presided at the annual prize giving, had received more effective attention than is usually given to the utterances on such occasions. He concluded an exceedingly welcome appreciation of the 'family spirit' observable in the College, and a most re-assuring declaration of the undesirability of its being merged in a purely unitary university, by exhorting the students to seek for success in life by maintaining the right scale of values and by giving preference every time, if a choice had to be made between character and learning,[1] to those elements in life which made for character. As has been shown, there was no neglect either of learning or of interest in public affairs; but the normal scale of values was significantly revealed when, in the autumn of 1930, the College which had declined invitation after invitation to indulge in

[1] His allusion was to the conditions of the award of the Hardinge Medal, which is awarded, not necessarily yearly, to such graduates or M.A's of the college as have combined with a steady and creditable record in their studies and University results a definite leadership of their fellow-students in public service, maintenance of sound standards in college life, and loyalty to its best traditions, whether on the playing fields or in the clubs and societies or as monitors in the hostels. A list of the medalists will be found in the appendix.

political hartals cut lectures *en masse* to go and watch the English M.C.C. team play cricket!

In all the fields that gave opportunities for the development of character—games, societies, clubs—standards rose steadily during these years. The Shakespeare Society had received such a vital impulse from its creator, Padley, it not only, during his long absence in England, maintained under C. B. Young and Sarkar its record of brilliant productions, but also elicited a very welcome counterpart in the Urdu Dramatic Club, which with its presentations of Ishtiaq Husain's original plays promises to work a welcome revolution in the current conventions of Indian drama. The Criterion Club went through the vicissitudes inevitable in a student society, but the crises of party politics merely served to elicit sooner or later the good sense and disinterestedness of individuals who benefited both the College and themselves by learning the rôle of peacemakers. The club had for many years maintained a model assembly which helped to familiarise both members and 'strangers' with the forms of political business, and also afforded opportunities for practice in debate. The latter function was supplemented by the institution in 1926 of a Rudra Medal (commemorating the Club's founder, Sudhir Rudra, now Reader in Economics in Allahabad University) to be competed for in a series of debates and speeches of various forms. A more general and much valued service has been rendered regularly by the club for many years in inviting public men to give addresses in the College Hall under its auspices, particularly during the Delhi 'Legislative' season.

Games produced an almost monotonous exhibition of University Tournament cups and trophies at the annual prize giving, but the competition, especially with the Hindu College, was always intensely keen and not *too* invariably successful, while the association in sportsmanship contribu-

ted greatly to the growth of a university *esprit de corps.* The steady insistence by the President of Games, whether Monk or Leigh, that these tournaments were the test rather than the objective of games-organisation, corrected the all too persistent conception of captainships or secretaryships as opportunities for personal prominence, and caused these posts to be increasingly recognised as privileges of public service. So successfully was the outlook inculcated and appropriated that the annual election of office-bearers for the various games ceased to be the pseudo-political orgy it had once tended to become, though still providing those who made the nominations with most useful exercises in calculating 'personal equations.' Cricket, which had been revived in 1917 by Azhar Ali's efforts, but had failed to recover its old prestige, received a fresh impetus when the new University started its own tournament, and the keen coaching of Leigh and Azhar Ali was rewarded by the shield being at last secured by St. Stephen's for the first time in 1927. Monk celebrated his release from administrative duties in the summer of 1926 by introducing 'Rugger,' with Fitch's assistance. Even on the unconventional grounds afforded by the Jumna sands it aroused surprising enthusiasm, not least among those previously addicted to no sort of field game. Climatic conditions made it impossible to establish it as a regular item, but sufficient opportunities of damp weather were seized to acquaint later generations with the rudiments, and the demand for the game crops up whenever there is an unseasonable shower. Fortunately there are now experienced players on the staff who are not on the wrong side of forty, to lead the scrum or demonstrate the principles of tackling. Volley-ball was another exotic introduced into the tournaments during these years, mainly for the benefit of colleges lacking in ground space; but it afforded a form of team play that St. Stephen's willingly included among its forms of sport, in view

particularly of its value for students hailing from villages, where it could be much more easily introduced than other games. The overwhelming popularity established for itself by tennis was not altogether welcomed by those to whom the value of team games outweighed that of all other forms of sport. However, the temptations towards 'pot-hunting' or the seeking of merely personal glory in the various University and local tournaments have been successfully kept in check by emphasis being laid on credit won for the College rather than for the individual: and the more frequent problems arising in this game in the selection of representatives have made a most valuably educative demand on the impartiality and disinterestedness of the student officers concerned.

The University Training Corps saw a decline from its first popularity for a year or two, partly owing to an apparently lukewarm official attitude towards U.T.C's. in general, partly for want of a personal lead from the College staff. The Indian members lacked either the temperament or the leisure, while their British colleagues felt that it would be incongruous for foreigners to be supplying the impulse to an Indian citizen-force. Eventually, however, Raja Ram's exceptionally fine record as an N.C.O. during his student days became available on the staff; and as soon as he took his commission (Tribe very readily supporting him by doing the same) the College platoon went rapidly ahead and in the training camp at Christmas, 1930, secured not only two inter-platoon challenge cups for sports but also the efficiency cup for the best platoon at drill.

To bring to a focus the corporate unity thus daily experienced in all the varied activities outside the lecture-room—games, U.T.C., societies, clubs, social service and the rest—Mukarji instituted on his return from England at the end of 1927 two much appreciated signs or symbols. The first was a new design for the College badge. The old

pattern of a conventional shield, introduced as long ago as before the War, had somehow failed to get itself adopted outside the ranks of the College teams. The inspiration of the new design was thus expounded by Mukarji in his prize giving report in March, 1928:

Inspired by Jesus Christ, men and women have gone forth into the remotest parts of the world to uplift their fellow men. They have gladly suffered want and privation for what they believed to be the Truth. It is this spirit which we have tried to express in the new design of the badge which has been approved by the Governing Body. Round the five-pointed star, which stands for India, is the Cambridge blue border, representing the impact of Christian Cambridge upon our country. On the ground, which is coloured martyr's red to represent St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, in whose memory the College is built, stands the martyr's crown in gold which awaits the person who will give his life for the Truth.

The second symbol of unity instituted at the same time, which has now become a regular feature of college life, is the general College Dinner, held monthly or at least twice a term. At these dinners, not in celebration of any particular occasion, but as themselves affording the occasion, as many as two hundred students at a time will gather to a common meal in which, except for deference to prevailing vegetarian scruples, no heed is taken, by either those who serve (students themselves) or those who partake of the differences that divide the world outside; and staff and students, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsees, sit and eat, and sing and joke, as one fellowship of reasonable beings.

As background to this wealth of life, and brought forward into consciousness daily at the morning prayers, the religious faith on which it has been built up and must ever rest has been steadily nurtured and strengthened. Prayer led by Principal or Chaplain, but followed in reverent silence by the

whole body, has come to be expected on all public occasions of any solemnity. The Commemoration Service which precedes the holiday activities of Founder's Day (7th December, the anniversary of Allnutt's death) is perhaps the most striking of such occasions. But there is an equally obvious appreciation of the Dismissal Service with which in recent years the College has bid farewell each spring to its outgoing 'examinees.' 'Grace before meat' has long been regarded as the proper, and by no means perfunctory, preface to any feast, whether it be a College Dinner or the Rudra Dinner served each February by students to the College servants, or the counterpart instituted by Mukarji on Christmas Eve to afford members of the staff a similar opportunity. At these last, striking expositions of the significance of the occasion are made by non-Christian colleagues who seem to welcome this chance of witnessing to the unity to be found in Christ.

For Christian staff and students, besides the weekly Communion service in the sadly inadequate little chapel-room of Maitland House, there has been for the last eight years or so a regular monthly Sunday gathering for worship, for which Sharp, C. B. Young and others evolved a very helpful College liturgy to supplement the ordinary Church services usually attended, either at St. James' next door or at St. Stephen's down in the city. Intensification of the corporate spiritual life of the increasing body of Christian students is the constant care of the staff-member to whom is allotted the pastoral charge of this vitally important element in the college fellowship. The teaching in the daily religious classes is kept fresh and alive alike by the annual reports prepared for the Supreme Council and by the meetings held weekly or fortnightly for the Christian staff to share the problems and ideas that rise from this side of their duties. Of individual relationships it would be out of place to write here, but allusion cannot be omitted to two occasions

in recent years when the public baptism of a Muslim student who had recently left College aroused no sort of public excitement or resentment. It is justifiable to assume in such acquiescence a tacit acknowledgement of general confidence that in its presentation of the claims of the Gospel the College scrupulously respects the rights of individual judgment and decision: what outlook it may be taken to imply on the merits of such decisions, who can say?

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During the cold weather of 1930–31, a Commission was sent out by the united Missionary Societies of Great Britain and the United States, to study the whole question of Christian Higher Education in the Mission colleges of India. Under the chairmanship of the Master of Balliol, Dr. Lindsay, it was composed of two members for the British Societies, two for the American, and two representatives of Christian India. The College was proud to release its Principal, Mukarji, as one of the Indian representatives, his place being filled during his absence by Monk as Acting Principal. The Commission investigated on the spot the condition and problems of practically every University College maintained by any Mission in India or Burma. By a curious chance its visit to St. Stephen's coincided, within a fortnight or so, with the fiftieth anniversary of the first opening of College classes by the Cambridge Mission. The actual Jubilee celebrations, however, were deferred till the occasion of the Founder's Day in December, 1931, and by then the Commission had issued its report. Its recommendations, as summarised in a phrase of Mukarji's report to Cambridge for that year, aimed at making the Mission colleges of which it gave an exhaustive survey, 'more Christian and more Indian.' In certain matters, particularly in that limitation of numbers which alone permits close personal contact between staff and students, in a free and

equal association of Indian with non-Indian members of the staff with a view to ultimate transference of the institution to the Indian Church, and in the emphasis on giving as fully Christian a content as possible to every activity of the body corporate, St. Stephen's was gratified, if not altogether surprised, to find the report apply to the whole of India principles which it could claim that it had already in considerable degree worked out in practice. But there could be no self-complacency at receiving such authoritative confirmation of the ideals which, as this record will have shown, had guided the development of these fifty years; rather it brought a clearer realisation that to whom much had been given, of them should much be required, and a deeper sense than ever of the obligation imposed by the College motto to shape the future even better than the past.

AD DEI GLORIAM

APPENDIX I

STAFF LIST

Name	*University*	*Joined*	*Left*	*Remarks*
[1] Rev. S. S. Allnutt, M.A.	... Cambridge	1881	1898	First Principal, 1881–98. Head of Mission, 1899–1917. Canon of Lahore, 1910. Died, 1917.
[1] Rev. G. A. Lefroy, M.A.	... Cambridge	1881	1891	Head of Mission, 1891. Bishop of Lahore 1899, of Calcutta 1913. Died, 1918.
[1] Rev. H. C. Carlyon, M.A.	... Cambridge	1881	1883	To District Work, Rohtak. Died, 1918.
Moulvi Shahjehan	... ...	1881	1907	Died, 1907.
M. N. Dutt, B.A.	... Calcutta	1882	1891	U.P. Educational Service, 1891–1912. Died, 1918.
N. G. Bose, B.A.	... Calcutta	1883	1885	
Pundit Vihari Pershad Dube	...	1883	1894	Died later.
[1] Rev. J. W. T. Wright, M.A.	... Cambridge	1883	1902	Second Principal, 1899–1902. Died, 1902.
P. C. Mukerjee, M.A.	... Calcutta	1885	1913	Vice-Principal and Bursar, 1907. Retired, 1913.
S. K. Rudra, M.A.	... Calcutta	1886	1923	Fourth Principal, 1906–23. Retired, 1923. Died, 1925.

[1] Member of Cambridge Brotherhood. [2] Appointed by S.P.G. and Cambridge Committee.
[3] Old Stephanian.

Name	*University*	*Joined*	*Left*	*Remarks*
Maulvi Jamil-ur Rahman	... ...	1887	1906	Retired, 1906. Died, 1924.
[2] Rev. A. C. Maitland, M.A.	... Cambridge	1891	1894	Joined the Mission in 1880. Died, 1894.
[1] Rev. F. Sandford, M.A.	... Cambridge	1891	1892	Died, 1892.
S. Y. Martyn, M.A.	... Madras	1891	1906	District Work, Madras, 1906. Died, 1912.
[2] B. K. Cunningham, B.A.	... Cambridge	1893	1896	Now Hon. Canon of Winchester and Principal of Westcott House, Cambridge.
Paras Nath Lahiri, M.A.	... Calcutta	1893	1901	Died later.
[3] Rev. C. Foxley, M.A.	... Cambridge	1893	(Temporary)	To District Work. Returned to England, 1896.
M. N. Bose, B.A.	... Calcutta	1893	(Temporary)	
[1] Rev. G. A. Purton, M.A.	... Cambridge	1896	(Temporary)	Also in 1902 and 1907. Died, 1911.
[1] Rev. R. B. Westcott, M.A.	... Cambridge	1896	1900	Died, 1900.
B. K. Mukerji, B A.	... Calcutta	1897	(Temporary)	
B. N. D. Mukarji, B.A.	... Calcutta	1898	(Temporary)	
[1] Rev. G. Hibbert-Ware, M.A.	... Cambridge	1898	1906	Third Principal, 1902–06.
[3] Rev. S. A. C. Ghose, B.A.	... Punjab	1899	1910	See 1913.
C. H. Jonah, B.Sc.	... Allahabad	1899	1900	
N. C. Chaki, M.A.	... Calcutta	1900	1901	
E. Caleb, B.A.	... Allahabad	1900	1903	
Abdul Majid, M.A.	... Calcutta	1901	(Temporary)	
[3] Raghubar Dayal, M.A.	... Punjab	1901	1915	Bursar 1913–15. Principal, Sanatan Dharam College, Lahore, 1916–29. Died, 1929.

Name	University	Joined	Left	Remarks
[3]Khub Ram, M.A.	... Punjab	1902	...	M.Sc. Leeds, 1915. Attached, 1922, as Reader in Physics and Dean of Science Faculty, Delhi University.
[1]Rev. J. G. F. Day, M.A.	... Cambridge	1902	1907	See 1908.
P. Bose, M.A.	... Calcutta	1903	(Temporary)	
P. C. Ray, M.A.	... Calcutta	1903	(Temporary)	For P. C. Mukerji, on leave.
[1]Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A.	... Cambridge	1904	1914	To Santiniketan, 1914.
[1]F. J. Western, M.A.	... Cambridge	1904	1909	See 1912. To School.
[3]S. Haidar Raza, B.A.	... Punjab	1905	(Temporary)	During Western's illness in autumn.
Maulvi Abdur Rahman, Maulvi Fazil, Munshi Fazil	... Punjab	1906	Present Staff	Shamsul Ulema, 1933.
N. K. Sen, M.A.	... Calcutta	1906	1925	Registrar, Delhi University 1925. Rai Bahadur, 1930.
B. C. Roy, M.A.	... Calcutta	1906	1908	
[3]Ghulam Yazdani, M.A.	... Calcutta	1907	1908	Now Director of Archæology, Nizam's Dominions.
[3]Khwaja Abdul Majid, B.A.	... Punjab	1908	1916	Taught temporarily, 1907. Retired, 1916.
[1]Rev. B. P. W. French, M.A.	... Cambridge	1908	(Temporary)	Joined Mission, 1897. Retired, 1912.
[2]Munshi Ram, M.A.	... Punjab	1908	(Temporary)	Punjab Judicial Service.
[3]C. H. C. Sharp, M.A.	... Oxford	1908	1926	War Service, 1914–19. Headmaster, Abbotsholme School.
[1]Rev. J. G. F. Day, M.A.	... Cambridge	1908	1909	Invalided, 1909. Bishop of Ossory and Ferns, 1920.
K. B. Basu, M.A.	... Calcutta	1909	1910	

Name	*University*	*Joined*	*Left*	*Remarks*
[1] N. G. Leather, M.A.	... Cambridge	1909	1919	Ordained, 1913. Principal, Berhampore College, 1920–24.
[2] A. C. Judd, B.A.	... Oxford	1909	1912	Killed in France 1918 while serving as a Chaplain.
D. N. Bhattacharya, M.A.	... Calcutta	1910	1920	Retired, 1920. Died, 1926.
[2] F. F. Monk, M.A.	... Oxford	1910	Present Staff	War Service, 1917–19. Fifth Principal. 1923–26.
[1] F. J. Western, M.A.	... Cambridge	1912	(Acting Principal)	Ordained, 1916. Head of Mission, 1917–28. Bishop of Tinnevelly, 1928.
[2] F. A. Cockin, B.A.	... Oxford	1912	1914	Canon of Southwark. Vicar of St. Mary's University Church, Oxford.
[3] S. C. Chatterji, B.A.	... Punjab	1912	(Temporary)	See 1917.
[3] Mehdi Hasan, B.A.	... Punjab	1912	(Temporary)	Agra College.
[2] S. N. Mukarji, M.A.	... Cambridge	1912	Present Staff	Sixth Principal, 1926.
[1] Rev. P. N. F. Young, M.A.	... Cambridge	1913	1924	Dean of Arts Faculty, Delhi University, 1922. Chaplain of Delhi, 1923.
[2] C. O. F. Jenkin, B.A.	... Cambridge	1913	1915	Shell Oil Co., California.
[2] W. G. Lawrence, B.A.	... Oxford	1913	1915	Observer, R.F.C. Died of wounds, 1915.
[3] Rev. S. A. C. Ghose, B.A.	... Punjab	1913	1918	See 1899. Part time, with Parochial Work.
D. K. Roy, B.Sc.	... Edinburgh	1913	1914	Died, 1925 (*circa*).
J. N. Mitra, M.Sc.	... Calcutta	1914	Present Staff	
C. B. Young, M.A.	... Oxford	1914	Present Staff	Part time from 1909 (B.M.S.). Dean of Arts Faculty, Delhi University, 1924–25, 1926–28 and 1934.

Name		*University*	*Joined*	*Left*	*Remarks*
A. C. Sen, M.A.	...	Calcutta	1915	(Temporary)	
[2] Rev. W. C. Roberts, M.A.	...	Oxford	1915	(Temporary)	
Lalita Prasad Sastri	...	Punjab	1916	(Temporary)	For Raghubar Dayal, on Deputation.
[1] Rev. W. F. Ireland, M.A.	...	Cambridge	1916	1920	To District Work.
[3] S. Azhar Ali, M.A., M.O.L.	...	Punjab	1916	Present Staff.	Ph.D. (Cantab), 1932.
[3] Lachhmi Dhar, M.A., M.O.L.		Punjab	1916	Present Staff	
[3] S. C. Chatterji, M.A.	...	Punjab	1917	(Temporary)	See 1912. Principal, Christ Church College, Cawnpore.
•Rev. P. Dearmer, D.D.	...	Oxford	1917	(Temporary)	
[2] Rev. A. Humphrey, A.K.C.	...	London	1917	1919	
G. Kewalramani, M.A.	...	Bombay	1918	1919	
Miss M. E. Elton, L.L.A.	...	St. Andrews	1918	1920	
P. N. Sarcar, M.A.	...	Calcutta	1920	(Temporary)	
Mrs. C. H. C. Sharp, M.A.	...	Oxford and Sheffield	1920	1921	
[3] Ram Behari, M.A.	...	Punjab	1920	Present Staff.	Central State Scholar, 1925. M.A. (Cantab) 1927. Ph.D. (Dublin), 1932.
S. Bhattacharya, M.A.	...	Calcutta	1920	(Temporary)	Dacca University.
[3] Rev. S. H. Thomas, B.A.	...	Cantab	1920	1921	To School.
S. N. Banerji, M.A.	...	Calcutta	1921	(Temporary)	
[1] K. K. Sen, M.A.	...	Punjab	1921	1922	Finance Department, Govt. of India.
K. C. Nag, M.A.	...	Calcutta	1921	Present Staff	
N. S. Phadke	...	...	1921	(Temporary)	
R. C. Lorimer, M.A.	...	St. Andrews'	1921	(Temporary)	And in 1927. Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi.

Name		*University*	*Joined*	*Left*	*Remarks*
[2]R. S. Capron, B.A.	...	Cambridge	1921	1931	Ordained to work in England, 1933.
[3]Seth Parmanand Jain, M.A.	...	Punjab	1922	1922	Income Tax Officer.
[2]P. J. Scott, B.A.	...	Cambridge	1922	1924	To School. Ordained, 1930.
[3]Kanwar Bahadur, M.A.	...	Punjab	1922	1924	Sanatan Dharm College, Cawnpore.
[2]W. O. Fitch, B.A.	...	Cambridge	1923	1926	Ordained, 1927, to Parochial Work.
[1]T. G. P. Spear, B.A.	...	Cambridge	1924	Present Staff	Ph.D. (Cambridge), 1931.
J. M. Mandal, M.Sc.	...	Calcutta	1924	1925	Vidyasagar College, Calcutta.
[3]H. W. Padley, M.A.	...	Cambridge	1924	1933	Ordained, 1929. Chaplain, King's School, Canterbury.
Vidya Chand, M.A.	...	Punjab	1925	1926	Government College, Lahore.
Hukam Chand, M.Sc.	...	Punjab	1925	1926	Government College, Lahore.
L. Sadoc, Ph.D.	...	Frankfurt	1925	1926	Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad.
[3]A. J. Mukerji, B.A.	...	Delhi	1926	(Temporary)	
Sant Ram, M.Sc.	...	Punjab	1926	Present Staff	
[3]M. S. Leigh, M.A.	...	Oxford	1926	1932	I.C.S., 1906–22.
[3]N. C. Gupta, B.A.	...	Delhi	1926	1927	E.A.C. Central Provinces.
K. M. Sarkar, M.A.	...	Punjab	1926	Present Staff	
[3]S. K. Bose, M.A.	...	Delhi	1926	1927	Central State Scholar, 1927. B.A. Cambridge, 1930. Ramjas College.
[2]C. J. G. Robinson, B.A.	...	Cambridge	1926	1929	Chaplain of Delhi, 1931.
S. C. Das Gupta, M.A.	...	Calcutta	1927	1927	Benares Hindu University.
Dev Raj Bhalla, M.A.	...	Punjab	1927	1928	Mohindra College, Patiala.
S. N. Moitra, M.A.	...	Allahabad	1927	(Temporary)	
[2]F. G. Winsor, M.A.	...	Cambridge	1928	Present Staff	

Name	*University*	*Joined*	*Left*	*Remarks*
Fazl-i-Haq, M.A.	... Punjab	1928	(Temporary)	For M. Abdur Rahman, on study-leave.
[3]D. Raja Ram, M.A.	... Delhi	1928	Present Staff	B.T. Punjab, 1927.
[3]Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, M.A.	... Delhi	1928	Present Staff	
Mrs. D. M. McAndrew, M.A.	... London	1928	1930	Baptist Missionary Society.
[2]J. W. Tribe, B.A.	... Oxford	1928	1931	Short service only.
Devi Lal, Ph.D.	... Hidelberg	1928	1929	
[3]A. W. Ozmund, M.A.	... Punjab	1929	1934	(A. T. Osmond).
Muhid-ud-Din Ahmed Khan, M.A.	... Agra	1929	1931	For Azhar Ali, on study-leave.
[3]Basant Lal, M.A.	Delhi	1929	1930	
[3]Jit Ram, M.A.	... Delhi	1930	1931	Central State Scholar, 1931.
[2]W. N. Rosveare, M.A.	Cambridge	1930	1931	For S. N. Mukarji, on deputation.
K. D. Pande, M.A.	Allahabad	1931	1932	For Ram Behari, on study-leave.
S. Chowla, Ph.D.	... Cambridge	1931	1932	Benares Hindu University.
[3]S. K. Sen, M.A.	... Delhi	1931	1933	
[2]G. A. G. Bowden, B.A.	... Cambridge	1931	1934	
Rev. S. F. Davenport, M.A.	Cambridge	1932	Present Staff.	
S. K. Bose, M.A.	... Delhi	1933	Present Staff.	
S. M. P. Datta, M.A.	... Delhi	1933	Present Staff.	

APPEN-

NUMBERS AND EXAMI-

	1881	1882	1883	...	1884	...	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
NUMBERS											
I Year ...	5	4	22	...	19	...	30	...	15	14	14
II Year ...	...	6	6	...	17	...	21	...	...	13	15
III Year ...	...	...	3	...	3	...	6	...	...	6	1
IV Year ...	...	...	...	...	3	...	5	...	...	6	11
M.A. Class ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
FINAL TOTAL ...	5	10	31	...	42	...	62	56	58	40	41
MAXIMUM ENTRIES	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	42
Hindus ...	4	...	...	...	...	...	52	48	...	...	34
Muhammadans	1	...	...	...	...	...	6	4	...	...	5
Christians ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	3	...	...	3
Others ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
TOTAL ...	5	10	31	...	42	...	62	56	58	45	42
Resident ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	2	3	2	2
RESULTS		Calcutta	Calcutta	Punjab	Calcutta	Punjab					
Intermediate—											
Entered ...	...	6	3	3	3	3	16	19	'Fair'	23	13
Passed ...	...	3	2	2	2	2	6	9		7	1
B.A.—											
Entered ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	5	8	6	6
Passed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	6	3	0
M.A.—											
Entered ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Passed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B.A. (Hon.)—											
Entered ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Passed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

DIX II

NATION RESULTS

1890	*1891*	*1892*	*1893*	*1894*	*1895*	*1896*	*1897*	*1898*	*1899*	*1900*	*1901*	*1902*	*1903*	*1904*	*1905*	*1906*	*1907*
20	20	28	28	35	23	29	22	31	17	11	18	12	30	26	28	31	24
15	20	25	30	23	27	26	19	26	20	15	16	15	18	31	36	40	40
7	6	8	8	9	8	7	10	13	13	11	10	7	13	7	16	15	16
		7	10	9	8	9	7	11	11	16	17	11	16	18	13	20	25
...	...	1	4	1	4	4	...	2	2	2	4	2	2	3	3	1	4[2]
44	52	69	80	77	70	75	58	83	63	55	65	47	79	85	96	107	109
49	52	74	87	89	83	...	79	95	...	...	...	...	84	90	100	116	116
40	43	66	72	78	67	54	62	49	48	42	49	...	62	68	...	...	...
7	7	6	11	3	9	9	14	6	12	9	11	...	16	11	...	...	...
2	2	2	4	8	7	7	3	3	3	3	4	...	1	6	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...		Sikhs		1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
49	52	74	87	89	83	70	79	58[1]	63	55	65	47	79	85	...	...	...
2	...	...	23	29	...	...	...	24	16	...	16	16	25	30	...	40	40
15	15	20	25	31	23	27	26	19	25	19	15	16	15	18	31	36	40
11	8	10	14	15	11	13	12	13	15	13	10	7	10	9	16	21	20
11	2	6	7	10	9	8	9	6	11	11	16	17	11	14	18	13	20
7	2	3	5	7	6	2	3	5	8	6	5	10	4	6	7	5	8
...	...	...	1	4	1	2	4	...	2	2	1	4	1	2	3	3	1
...	...	...	1	2	1	0	4	...	2	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[1] Before May entries. [2] Including one M.O.L.

NUMBERS AND EXAMI-

	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
NUMBERS										
I Year	35	50	27	52	46	...	...	71[4]	62	64
II Year	32	43	51	36	50	...	...	50	64	54
III Year	22	30	23	27	24	...	...	60	47	47
IV Year	25	36	37	43	38	...	...	54	65	52
M.A. Class	5	5	8	11	13	...	...	21	22	16
FINAL TOTAL	119	164	146	169	171	183	220	256	[illegible]	[illegible]
MAXIMUM ENTRIES ...	140	177[2]	175[3]	...	...	212	247	...	261	244
Hindus	...	...	...	119	115	125	159	185	177	147
Muhammadans ...	...	...	...	27	37	42	43	56	64	65
Christians	...	...	...	23	17	14	17	13	15	16
Sikhs	...	...	...	...	2	2	1	2	4	5
TOTAL ...	...	...	...	169	171	183	220	256	260	233
Resident	50	...	...	...	73	77	88	104	110	98
RESULTS										
Intermediate—										
Entered	40	32	43	48	29	42	30	46	48	64
Passed	22	28	27	30	25	31	20	40	34	52
B.A.—										
Entered	24	22	33	34	38	38	24	50	50	59
Passed	15	7	11	11	21	25	17	26	21	34
M.A.—										
Entered	3	3	1	2	5	9	5	10	7	11
Passed	2[1]	0	1	0	3	6	4	7	6	[illegible]
B.A. (Hon.)—										
Entered	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Passed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[1] Including one M.O.L. [2] Thirty applications refused.
[3] Fourteen 'detained,' left in March. [4] November figures.

NATION RESULTS (*Contd.*)

1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
60	67	49	59	60	71	78	66	75	68	81	91	88	84	87	88	88
54	59	52	51	62	65	71	69	59	68	68	82	75	73	76	69	78
44	50	47	44	45	51	58	56	54	54	72	64	63	63	59	82	72
52	54	59	59	61	52	55	57	64	64	64	70	68	69	73	61	82
16	15	17	20	34	35	22	24	21	28	43	48	38	49	54	61	43
226	[illegible]	224	233	262	274	284	272	273	282	328	355	332	338	349	361	363
245	...	244	245	275	285	299	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
138	153	142	160	189	196	204	183	169	178	215	220	222	222	211	196	243
71	75	68	62	65	72	67	75	82	74	83	89	81	75	74	80	68
11	9	13	9	7	5	12	12	18	23	22	25	18	20	29	40	32
6	8	1	2	1	1	1	2	4	7	8	21	11	21	30	45	20
226	245	224	233	262	274	284	272	273	282	328	355	332	338	344	361	363
95	109	103	114	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	113	100	104
54	52	60	51	44	63	65	70	72	59	68	65	75	81	75	73	71
37	40	46	44	29	37	38	44	38	27	48	43	58	66	59	65	64
48	51	57	55	59	61	52	54	56	54	42	51	53	52	50	44	42
29	21	34	33	25	45	34	38	38	27	27	36	40	41	38	33	33
7	10	3	7	9	11	22	11	11	10	13	16	21	19	17	20	27
4	9	1	4	8	6	14	9	7	7	9	13	16	18	13	17	17
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	7	15	12	14	17	17	19	14
...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	6	12	12	13	17	14	17	11

[5] Including five compartments. [6] Including two compartments.

APPENDIX III

THE CONSTITUTION OF ST. STEPHEN'S MISSION COLLEGE, DELHI

As adopted by the S.P.G, Standing Committee on November 6, 1913, and by 'The Cambridge Committee' and revised in 1919 and 1929. (Slightly abbreviated.)

SOCIETY OF ST. STEPHEN'S MISSION COLLEGE, DELHI

MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION

1. The name of the Society is St. Stephen's Mission College, Delhi.
2. The object of the Society is to prepare young men for University degrees and examinations and to instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity, which instruction must be in accordance with the teaching of the Church of England.
3. List of the original members of the Society. [Omitted.]

RULES OF ASSOCIATION

Election of Members

1. The Society shall consist of the following members:
   (*a*) The Bishop of the Diocese.
   (*b*) The Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood.
   (*c*) A person appointed by the Chapter of the Diocese.
   (*d*) A person appointed by the Standing Committee of the S.P.G.
   (*e*) A person appointed by the Cambridge Committee.
   (*f*) The Principal of the College.
   (*g*) The Vice-Principal of the College.
   (*h*) The Bursar of the College, if not the Vice-Principal.

(*i*) Three members of the College staff, elected by the College staff, of whom one shall be a member of the Cambridge Brotherhood, or appointed to his lectureship by the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G., and two shall be Indians.

(*j*) One person appointed by the Principal.

(*k*) Two persons appointed by the Cambridge Brotherhood, one of whom shall be a member thereof.

(*l*) One person to be appointed by the Diocesan Committee and two by the Mission Council, not necessarily in either case from their own number.

(*m*) Two Indians, co-opted by the Governing Body, who shall be members neither of the College staff nor of the S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission.

(*n*) The person elected as Chairman of the Governing Body under Rule 4, if he is not already included in the foregoing list.

2. Periods of Membership. [Omitted.]

MANAGEMENT

Supreme Council—Composition

3. The religious and moral instruction of the students of the College and all matters affecting its religious character as a Missionary College of the Church of England shall be under the control of the SUPREME COUNCIL of the College consisting of the following members of the Association, all of whom must be members of the Church of England, or members of the Church of India or of some other Church in communion with the Church of England, viz.:

The Bishop of the Diocese.

The Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood.

The Chairman of the Governing Body, if he is not already a member.

The Principal of the College.

The Member of the Association appointed by the Chapter of the Diocese.

The Member of the Association appointed by the Standing Committee of the S.P.G.

The Member of the Association appointed by the Cambridge Committee.

Governing Body—Composition

4. The GOVERNING BODY of the College shall consist of all the members of the Association, other than the Bishop of the Diocese and those persons (unless they are otherwise qualified) who are appointed members by the Chapter of the Diocese, the Standing Committee of the 'S.P.G.' and the Cambridge Committee respectively. The Chairman of the Governing Body shall be the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood, or, if he be the Principal of the College or a member of the staff or for other reasons declines to serve, a person elected by the Brotherhood and approved by the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G.

Property

5. The immovable PROPERTY of the College shall be vested in the S.P.G., all other property connected with the College shall be vested in the Association.

Supreme Council—Functions

6. The SUPREME COUNCIL of the College shall have the control of the religious and moral instruction of the students of the College and of all matters affecting its religious character as a Missionary College of the Church of England: and, in addition shall exercise the following powers:

(*a*) To appoint and, should occasion arise, after due enquiry, to remove the Principal.

(*b*) To review and if they think fit, to cancel, or alter, any decision of the Governing Body which in their opinion affects the character of the College as a Missionary College of the Church of England, even though no appeal on the subject has been made to them; and in this connection all decisions of the Governing Body in any way relating to religious and moral instruction or to the religious character of the College shall be forwarded by the Chairman of the Governing Body to each member of the Supreme Council of the College forthwith.

7. The Supreme Council of the College shall have no right of interference in the management of the College save and except in regard to matters herein set forth. Their decision in regard to such matters shall be valid only if supported by an absolute majority of the whole Council.

It shall be the duty of the Chairman of the Governing Body to arrange for the summoning of a meeting of the Supreme Council of the College for the consideration of any such matters whenever the Bishop of the Diocese shall think it desirable, or at the request of any two members.

The Supreme Council of the College shall meet at such times, not being less than once annually, and either at the College or elsewhere as the Bishop of the Diocese or the Chairman of the Governing Body shall appoint, notice thereof being given in such manner as shall be deemed sufficient. At the Annual Meeting of the Supreme Council the Principal of the College shall submit a report of all matters affecting the religious and moral instruction of the students of the College and of all matters affecting its religious character as a Missionary College of the Church of England which have been dealt with by the Governing Body during the past year, and shall state for consideration any changes which may be contemplated.

Governing Body—Functions

8. Subject to the control of the Supreme Council of the College in the matters hereinbefore set out, and to the special powers hereby conferred upon such Council, the GOVERNING BODY shall exercise a general control over the College and its finances and its other affairs, and in particular:

(*a*) They shall on the recommendation of the Principal appoint and decide all questions relating to the emoluments of all Lecturers, except those who are appointed by the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood, or by the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G.

(*b*) They shall decide all questions relating to the emoluments of the Principal if he has previously been a member of the Staff appointed by the Governing Body.

(*c*) They shall decide all questions relating to such part (if any) of the emoluments of Lecturers appointed by the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood or by the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G as has not been fixed by the authorities who appointed such Lecturers, and such part of the emoluments of the Principal, if he shall originally have been appointed to the Staff by one of those authorities, as has not been fixed by those authorities.

(*d*) They shall make bye-laws to govern the furlough of the Principal and of the Lecturers, but the consent of the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G. must be obtained before such bye-laws can take effect in the case of those members of the Staff who are maintained by them.

(*e*) They shall decide all questions of capital expenditure and loans; provided that no such expenditure over Rs. 3,000 and no loan shall be incurred without the consent of the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G.

(*f*) They shall sanction the annual budget of the College, and pass the annual accounts and balance sheet.

When matters affecting the religious character of the College and the religious teaching therein are discussed, they shall only be voted upon by members who are Christians; and when the matter discussed affects the doctrine or discipline of the Church of India, it shall only be voted upon by members who are members of the Church of England or of the Church of India or of some other Church in communion with the Church of England. Should any proposal involving a substantial change in these matters be adopted at a meeting of the Governing Body, the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood, or the Chairman of the Governing Body, or the Principal of the College, or any three members of the Association may appeal to the Supreme Council of the College who shall have power to veto or alter the proposal.

9. The Governing Body shall meet at least once in every

year. The Chairman of the Governing Body may at any time summon a meeting: and he shall summon a meeting at any time if requested to do so by the Principal of the College, or by not less than three members of the Governing Body.

Principal

10. The PRINCIPAL of the College shall be a member of the Church of England or of the Church of India or of some other Church in communion with the Church of England. He shall have the entire control of the discipline and general regulation of the College and of the course of studies in it, but shall not take action in matters relating to religious instruction without previous consultation with the Chairman of the Governing Body.

Any proposal relating to the emoluments of the Principal shall be voted upon in the Governing Body by those members only who are not members of the College Staff, and, if the Chairman of the Governing Body think fit, he may call upon members of the College Staff to withdraw from the meeting of the Governing Body during the whole or any part of the discussion of such a proposal.

Vice-Principal and Bursar

11. A VICE-PRINCIPAL shall be appointed annually by the Principal. He shall be a member of the Church of England or of the Church of India or of some other Church in communion with the Church of England. A BURSAR shall be appointed annually by the Principal with the sanction of the Chairman of the Governing Body. The two offices may be held by the same member of the Staff.

Managing Committee

12. There shall be a MANAGING COMMITTEE, which shall consist of the Principal, the Vice-Principal, the Bursar, and two members of the College Staff elected by the College Staff, of whom one shall be a member of the Cambridge Brotherhood, or appointed to his lectureship by the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G., and one shall be an Indian. When the Principal appoints the same person to be both Vice-Principal and Bursar for any year he shall nominate an additional member of the Managing Committee to hold office for so long as the two offices are combined during that year.

Subject to Rule 8 (*f*), it shall control the current revenue and expenditure of the College, with due regard to the conditions prescribed by the various bodies contributing to the revenue, and shall have power to make re-appropriations within the sanctioned budget, subject to such rules as may be prescribed by the Governing Body. It shall act as an Advisory Council for the Principal in other matters. The Managing Committee may make bye-laws for the conduct of its business.

Staff Appointments

13. APPOINTMENTS TO LECTURESHIPS maintained by the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G. shall be made either by the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood from among the members of the Brotherhood with the consent of the Principal, or by the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G. at the request of the Principal. Appointments to other lectureships, whether permanent or temporary, shall be made by the Governing Body on the recommendation of the Principal but in case of emergency, when the Principal is of opinion that an appointment must be made before a meeting of the Governing Body can be held, he may make an appointment with the sanction of the Chairman of the Governing Body. In all cases the authority which appoints shall also determine the initial salary of the person appointed.

(*a*) When a member of the College Staff, having been permitted to resign in order to accept an appointment as a teacher of the University of Delhi, is thereupon attached by the University to the College, he shall continue to be reckoned as a member of the College Staff for the purposes of these rules.

(*b*) When a teacher of the University of Delhi is attached by the University to the College, with the consent of the Principal, not having been immediately previous to his appointment by the University a member of the College Staff, he shall not be reckoned as a member of the College Staff for the purposes of these rules except with the consent of the Governing Body on the recommendation of the Principal.

Staff Emoluments

14. (*a*) When any proposal is brought forward in the Governing Body relating to the EMOLUMENTS of any individual member of the Staff of the College, no member of the Staff, other than the Principal, shall vote upon that proposal.

(*b*) When any proposal is brought forward in the Governing Body relating to the emoluments of any group of members of the Staff of the College, such proposal shall be discussed in the full meeting of the Governing Body, but no member of the Staff other than the Principal shall vote upon it, and if the Chairman think fit, he may call upon the members of the Staff to withdraw from the meeting before the voting takes place, in order to allow for further discussion by those members of the Governing Body only who will vote.

(*c*) This rule shall apply whether the final decision to be made in any case lie within the competence of the Governing Body itself or within that of the Cambridge Committee and S.P.G.

Staff Dismissals

15. Lecturers appointed by the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood as above can only be dismissed or withdrawn from their lectureships by the joint consent of the Head of the Cambridge Brotherhood and the Principal. In case of disagreement between these two the matter shall be referred to the Visitor whose decision shall be final. All other Lecturers shall be liable to DISMISSAL by the Principal, but a Lecturer in such case may appeal to the Governing Body, exclusive of the Lecturer in question if he is a member. The decision of the Governing Body shall be taken by a majority of those present and voting at a duly summoned meeting, and shall be final.

Legal Business

16. The Principal, and in his absence the Vice-Principal, shall sign and execute all documents at the order of the

Governing Body, and shall represent the Association in and for all kinds of LEGAL BUSINESS.

Accounts

17. The ACCOUNTS and BALANCE SHEETS of the College shall be prepared by the Bursar at least once in every year, and, after approval by the Principal and the Chairman of the Governing Body, shall be audited by a professional auditor to be appointed annually by the Governing Body, and presented to the Governing Body, on or before the 1st June in each year. The accounts of the College shall be presented to the Principal for his inspection monthly.

Visitor

18. The Bishop of the Diocese shall be VISITOR of the College.

Deputies

19. In cases of the absence on furlough or from illness of any of the *ex-officio* members of the Governing Body or of the Managing Committee, his place shall be taken for all purposes by his DEPUTY IN OFFICE.

Changes in Rules

20. CHANGES in the above rules other than those affecting the Supreme Council of the College must be initiated by the Governing Body; changes which affect the Supreme Council of the College must be initiated by the Supreme Council. In either case, every proposal for change must be submitted to the Cambridge Committee and the S.P.G. who shall have power to refer back the proposal for reconsideration, or to veto it, but not to amend it. The Governing Body may make bye-laws for the conduct of its business in addition to those provided for in Rule 8 (*d*).

APPENDIX IV

THE HARDINGE MEDAL

IN MEMORY OF LT. THE HON'BLE E. HARDINGE

AWARDED FOR CHARACTER COMBINED WITH LEARNING

It is character in combination with learning that makes a man.—LORD HARDINGE.

1916	Sudhir Kumar Rudra, B.A.
1917	Sheo Dhan Singh, B.A.
1919	Harnam Dass, B.A.
1920	Krishna Chand, B.A.
1924	S. K. Bose, B.A.
	A. H. Sajjad, B.A.
1926	D. Raja Ram, B.A.
1928	Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, B.A.
1929	S. C. Sircar, B.A.
	Tara Chand, B.A.
1931	Mirza Mahmood Begg, B.A.

Originally endowed by Sheikh Abdul Aziz of Batala, and, since the lapse of the endowment, presented by the Principal.